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# TIME

# THE WAR COMES HOME

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Agency. "Characterization of Municipal Solid Waste in the United States." 1990.



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THE GULF WAR: Staring out from photographs, the first U.S. servicemen to die in ground combat seem full of life and promise. As they are laid to rest across the nation, the real cost of the conflict comes home to America.

George Bush faces a decision that will determine how many more Americans will die: whether to start the ground war now or later. The choice hinges largely on how well the air assaults are going. ► Conventional wisdom holds that U.S. support for the war will fall if casualties soar, but the equation may be more complicated. ▶ By defying the allied onslaught, Saddam Hussein is gambling on winning the soul of the Arab masses.

THAT CHING DOG 7-TEXT is another and early to 16.1 displayer are by the Timber Magazine Correspond Principle Office. The AL Life Building Reckelering Cortex (New York, Precision and State Cortex), the Ching Cortex (New York, Precision and State Cortex), and the Ching Cortex (N















new energy policy The President's plan gives a boost to oil exploration-and short shrift to conservation. ► The White House unveils a budget



Apartheid's last victims Uneducated and unemployed. South Africa's black youth face a bleak future. ► The Communist Party goes on the offensive in the Soviet Union.





4	Letters
8	American

Scene 13 Grapevine

58 Cinema 60 Video 61 People

for tight times. 40

65 Books

62 Religion **62 Milestones**  69 Living 70 Technology 72 Essay

Cover:

Photograph courtesy Tom and Joyce Jenkins

### **LETTERS**

WAR IN THE GULF

# "Alas, where has civilization brought us?"

Diptendu Chakraborty Toronto

It is a pity that many honest, law-abiding arrabs have come under the spell of the gerverfed genins Saddam Hussein [This GULF, Jan. 28], who has seized upon the Gunded; and "exploitation by the West" (which may be valid). When the war ends, the allies could, with skillful diplomacy and understanding, forge unity among the Arabs. Fride and tolerance would follow.

Daryush A. Irani Bournemouth, England

You can call it Operation Desert Storm or anything else, but the *real* name for it is Bush War I.

(The Rev.) Richard Lonsdale Hallowell, Me.



The protesters declare that they are for peace. Who is not? Peace is not the question. This is about the moral issue of one country's taking over another.

Brooke A. Morford Malaga, Spain

As I witness citizens of Jordan, Algeria, Britain, Germany and other countries protesting the allied coalition's actions, I ask, "To whom would they plead for military protection if Saddam had elected to invade their homelands?"

Jan L. Brenk Minneapolis

We Japanese have been persistently made to feel remorseful, guilty and repart and for our military past, which we sincerely are. We know firsthand or grew up hearing about the devastation of war. Every August there are memorial services for the victims of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Japanese aren't indifferent—we are unenthusiastic. Can you blame us? We understand the purpose of this war with our minds but can never go into it with our heart on it with our heart of the control was the control of the war with our minds but can never go into it with our heart of the war with our minds but can never go into it with our heart of the war with our minds but can never go into it with our heart of the war was the way was the way

Mariko Ono Osaka, Japan

I agree with Strobe Talbott that Turkey plays a major role in the Middle East and is proving itself useful in the gulf war. But one must not forget that even though Turkey is helping liberate Kuwait, it is itself an invader of another country, Cyprus, part of which it has occupied for the past 16 years. How can Europe accept as a member of those can be proved useful for the past 16 years. The provided itself to be democratic? Cyprus also does were its freedom.

Harry Sirounis Lancaster, England

# WHO SCORES 95% IN POLICYHOLDER SATISFACTION?

### LETTERS

### Comparisons with Panama

I will leave it to others to answer most of the issues raised in Barbara Ehrenreich's distorted piece on Panama [Essay, Jan. 21]. I address my remarks to the implication that the U.S.'s Operation Just Cause of December 1989 may have been responsible for as many as 4,000 civilian Panamanian deaths. The U.S. Southern Command and the U.S. Army have reviewed carefully every charge that the number of civilian deaths incurred is more than 202. Despite an exhaustive and continuing investigation, we have found no evidence to substantiate a higher number. In fact, it is probable that the death toll was lower than the official estimate of 202

Michael P.W. Stone Secretary of the Army Washington

Ehrenreich's article was extremely negative and misleading. President Guillermo Endara was elected in May 1989 by an overwhelming majority. That election was sabotaged by the Noriega regime, and the candidates were brutally and savagely beaten by regime-trained paramilitary guarks. Noriega attempted to annul the response of the president of the president of the file. Panama's economy is showing signs of a full recovery, with the highest growth rate in Latin America. Drug running is no longer a government-prosnoved and run business, as it was under the Norfega regime. President Endrar's administration is total-by committed to the war on drugs, and has reformed Panans's banking laws to eliminate money laundering. Operation Just Cause was not launched merely to "stop the drug traffic." It was carried out to top the country for its own criminal enterprise, endangered the whole hemisphere.

Eduardo Vallarino Ambassador of Panama to the U.S. Washington

I would like to compliment Ehrenreich for the serious points she made. It is a disaster that in these times we have so few poople who can see a situation clearly and who have the courage to put their convictions in writing. As we did in Panama, we are fighting in the gulf for all the wrong reasons, and in the end no good will come of it.

Barbara Connor Laguna Beach, Calif.

It is easy for Ehrenreich to opine that Panamanians should have been willing to endure years more under the Noriega dictatorship. But the people themselves, who suffered the violence, corruption and indignity of the dictatorship, believe otherwise. A Gallup survey taken in the fall of 1990 found that the overwhelming majority of Panamanians praise Operation Just Cause as their "liberation."

Bernard Aronson Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Washington

### The Baltic Problem

It is unjust to by the blame for the tragic events in Lithuania on Soviet Persident Gorbacher (WORLD, Jan. 28). Chief executives are powerful people, but they cannot oversee all that transpires in their nation, no matter how hard they try. And some events, especially tragic ones, can occur without their knowledge. It would have been unfair to blame the U.S. President for the death of the or for the shooting of four antivar demonstrators by National Guardsmen at Kent State University in 1970.

Vladimir Alexeyev Novosti Information Agency Moscow

### **Monitoring Cow Emissions**

Contrary to your recommendation, the government study of "burping cows" to see if they contribute to global warming does

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### LETTERS

not deserve a "weird science prize" [GRAPEVINE, Jan. 14]. Cows and other ruminants emit methane, the atmospheric concentration of which has been increasing 1% a year. The buildup of methane is responsible for roughly 20% of current emissions that contribute to the greenhouse ef-fect. Research suggests that reducing livestock emissions could cut this growth rate in half while improving animal productivity at the same time. The problem of global warming has no single solution but rather answers to many small questions, perhaps including reduced methane emissions from cows

Alan S. Miller, Executive Director Center for Global Change University of Maryland College Park, Md.

### **Past into Present**

During the gulf crisis, TIME readers have been mining history for clues to modern times. Prior to Jan. 17, many conjured up Neville Chamberlain's bowler hat and umbrella, emblems of appeasement in 1939. An Iowan, Bruce Dougan, found that principal figures today resemble those in 1940: "Hitler is Saddam Hussein, Churchill is Bush, Ribbentrop is Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz, German Jews are Kurds, America Firsters are peace activists, and all too many Congressmen are Chamberlains." Standing up for wartime press censorship, one reader critical of the TV coverage repeated a quondam slogan: "Loose lips sink ships." Some counseled the White House to note "Woodrow Wilson's patience" before entering World War I, while Potula Sitapati in India criticized both sides in the gulf war and sought "freedom from Bonapartes and Hitlers." Several letter writers reminded us that "war is hell," and that those trenchant words came

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### AMERICAN SCENE

Oahu, Hawaii



### **Dancing on The Home Front**

As their husbands battle in the gulf, wives and dependents at a Marine air base find solace in a Vegas-quality charity show

### By TERESA SULLIVAN

S tephanie Bates leans into the dress-ing-room mirror and delicately readjusts a false eyelash that perspiration has set askew. The women behind her scramble for their costumes, throwing off tap shoes, pulling on tights. The mood is frantic, but full dress rehearsals are like that. No one is quite comfortable with the rou-

The finale is next. Bates, calmer than most, slips into her show-girl outfit, a jeweled network of baubles and beads cascading down her lithe body. A feather from her sequined cape floats past her painted red lips, and she blows it away matter-offactly. Ten pounds of rhinestones, wires and multicolored feathers ascend 3 ft. over her head. The headdress hurts. Bates must crouch down and walk ducklike to clear the door to the stage

She takes a moment to steady herself, and the music comes up. She and the others glide gracefully into the spotlight, arms extended, costumes dazzling. Step, kick; step, kick. It's the glitzy routine you would expect from any professional nightclub act. But this show is something special: its cast is made up entirely of military personnel and their spouses.

Although she handles herself well, Bates, 39, is not a show girl. She is a Marine wife and mother, whose husband, Marine Corps Major John Bates, is one of many soldiers from the Kaneohe Bay Marine Corps Air Station who are serving in the front lines in Saudi Arabia. It's not that she and the other wives are not worried about their husbands' safety. Instead of agonizing nonstop in front of the television, however, they are occupying their time in an unusual way: dancing

"I know it sounds frivolous compared to what's going on," says Bates, "but it's a needed diversion. Otherwise, I'd just sit here with the news on, thinking about him every minute of every day." Her diversion takes the form of the Mardi Gras Follies '91. It is a charity fund raiser, staged annually by the Awa Lau Wahine, a Hawaiian term meaning Ladies of the Harbor. The group is an officers' wives club composed of Navy. Coast Guard and Marine women on the island of Oahu.

A somber mood prevailed over the usually high-spirited cast and crew as practice began on the night of Jan. 16, the day war broke out in the Persian Gulf. Bates anguished over whether or not to attend rehearsal that evening. She finally decided to go, but admitted that there wouldn't be any 'sparkle" in her performance that night. Her son Josh, 12, accompanied her. They needed to be together while Josh's dad was

As opening night approached, practices became more intense. There were routines to be remembered, costumes to be fitted and lyrics to be learned, and there was timing to be perfected. The gnawing fears of what was happening to their husbands in the Saudi desert slipped, temporarily, to the back of their consciousness, as director Jack Cione put his 55 charges through exhausting rehearsal routines.

Anyone familiar with these productions-and most Oahu residents areknows they are not your typical "Hey, let's put on a show" charity fund raisers. Having professionally directed and choreographed all his life, director Cione will accept nothing less than polished and professional performances, even from an all-volunteer cast. Says he: "I abhor any attempt, big budget or small, that comes off looking like a PTA production.

The gala dates back to 1955, when the women staged a Mardi Gras costume ball, presided over by a king and queen. By the mid-'60s, it had evolved into an annual onenight minstrel show. Each successive year has brought more talent and bigger audiences. But it wasn't until Cione took over as director in 1988 that the event was catapulted from an in-house variety show to a professional-quality production.

The culmination of his efforts is a power-packed 90-minute musical revue that will run for five weeks starting Feb. 7. It boasts snappy show tunes, precision tap lines, and leggy ladies in dazzling costumes dripping with sequins and feathers. All this is sandwiched between an opening carnival act that nightly crowns the king and queen of Mardi Gras, and a red, white and blue finale guaranteed to strain the tear ducts of even the most hard-nosed patriots. Though the cast consists entirely of activeduty and retired military personnel and dependents, it turns in a performance that rivals anything you'll see on the stages of Las

Vegas or Atlantic City.

Cione, 64, is certain he has another smash hit in the offing: "At my age, I'm too old to turn out a flop." His confidence is justifiable. A lifelong dancer, choreographer and director, he retired to Hawaii in the '50s after making a million with a chain of successful dance studios on the mainland. But the show-biz bug was still with him. When he viewed a lackluster show at a Honolulu nightclub in 1958, he got the owner's consent to work his magic and turned it into a winning act. To give it that extra bounce. Cione had his dancers go topless. It shocked the island like nothing else since the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Audiences swarmed into the club, and Cione was given half the operation as a reward. He ultimately parlayed his success into a string of nine clubs.

Today Cione is using old costumes from his nightclub days-with some essential parts added-to grace the bodies of the officers' wives and other Mardi Gras cast members. The women, however, have no qualms about Cione's lurid past. Producer Jeanne

Stephanie Bates, left, Kathy Miller and Shannon Stillings get expert guidance from director Jack Cione

"I know it sounds frivolous compared to what's going on, but it's a needed diversion."



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### AMERICAN SCENE

Dones, wife of the commander of the Third Freet Admiral James F Dones, calle Gone a miracle man for volunteering, calle Gone a miracle man for volunteering, so much of homomority into a theartical trouge. For his part, Counce righty the change to work with these gang-ho amateurs. "It's their positive artitude," he says. "They're living out the fantasy of what it's like to be a show girl. I love to see them blossom."

love to see them blossom.

Although this is Bates' first year of doing the chow, she is well ahead of the rest of the group. The petite, worlditablesking petite, worlditablesking the second of the rest of the group. The petite, worlditablesking the second years. She choreographed her chould years, She choreographed her college drill team in Arkanssa and moved onto a brief stant in modeling while studye for her master's degree in early-child-houd education at the University of Central Arkanssa. Her stage work stopped when she began teaching kindergatten, the stage is the stage when the began teaching kindergatten, the stage which will be the date training and modelling experience of the stage of the

"I start at ground zero with these wome," says Cione. For five months, they are drilled in tap, jazz, how to walk as a shore control of the start of

B stess at cases with that degree of commitment—both onstage and at home. Here husband John, who won three Purple Hearts and lost most of his right lung in Victram, has made a career of pushing himself to the limit. The last time she spoke to him, just a few days before the lighting began, he seared her that the situation "in" as had as it sounds. "Stephanic and her son cling to those words now. "We have our highs and lossy," she conflicts. "There are times when I" mit reheartsal and think, My God, what and holing here!" There's a wing uging on, and here we are.

dancing, as if nothing has happened." If was back in September that John left for Desert Shield. "At that point, we figured I'd be practicing while he was away, and he'd he home in time to see the show," says Stephanie. "I like to think there's still a chance he'll be home in time to see a performance."

Whether or not that wish comes true. Bates and her fellow performers take pride in the fact that their show is expected to net more than \$25,000 for both local and military charities, including the Red Cross and Navy Relief Society. Thus the cast and crew of Mardid Gras Follies. 91 seem to be tapping out a new twist on an old adage: "They also serve who only sing and dance."

### FROM THE PUBLISHER



Consumermarketing director Ellen Fairbanks seeks to reward readers' loyalty

"TIME is fortunate to have many satisfied long-term subscribers."

ast month President Bush took his turn at one of the oldest American traditions, reporting on the embatted but gallant State of the Union. Some Governors and corporate executives do something similar. After a turbulent year for many in our industry, but a reassuring one for us and our colleagues at Time Inc. Magazine Co. 1 seems appropriate to tell you something of how That is faring. In short, 1990 was a very good year, considering and aster tiers. Despite the added contomic child that is one of many sad effects of the gulf war. 1991 looks promising too. The health of the magazine arises from the wibrarcy and relevance of its content. The public apparently likes what we provide task year 40 million Americans a week, or more than 1 in 5 adults, read a newmagazine, and the largest number chose TIME. U.S. circulation in 1994 waregold almost 42 million an sixe, including those who get a copy passed along by someone else, we reach 21 million people a week. To let readers know how we value that loy-ally, last year consumer-marketing director Ellen Faithen the following the state of the control of

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term subscribers. We want to reinforce the relationship.

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### GRAPEVINE

By DAVID ELLIS/Reported by Sidney Urguhart



### Not by Brutality Alone

Irag's dictator has long emploved fear to keep his people in line. But Saddam Hussein has also tried kindness rather than killing. When the Iran-Iraq war began in 1980, he ordered 20,000 Chevy Malibus to be distributed among army officers and families of fallen soldiers. Tight money and high casualties soon forced Iraq to cancel that order after about 2,000 cars were delivered; Saddam later substituted Volkswagens and other inexpensive cars. Moreover, the Iraqi treasury pledged to pay \$40,000 to any man who married a war widow. For the bravest survivors, Saddam ordered 150 ceremonial swords (price: up to \$50,000 each), crafted in a small village in Tuscany. Last year the Italian goldsmiths may have got an early tip about the dictator's plans when Iraq placed an order for 100 fancy sabers. Twenty were delivered just four days before the invasion of Kuwait.

### Saddam Slept Here

Saddam can seek shelter in a palace bunker some 40 miles out of Baghdad, but allied forces are unlikely to find him there. During wartime, the Iraqi leader makes a habit of hiding in civilian areas. A Shi'ite opposition leader recalls that his cousin's family was rousted by soldiers at dawn several years ago. The group was sent to Baghdad's Al Rasheed Hotel for the next 24 hours before being permitted to return home. Only then did government officials tell the family that Saddam had spent the previous evening in its quarters. In thanks for the coerced hospitality, he sent the family a suite of designer furniture.

# A Quagmire To Come? Iragi soldiers in Kuwait City

have taken up residence in thousands of the city's apartments and have been ordered to fight to the death, according to a Palestinian economist who left the occupied country in late January. Dislodging the wellarmed soldiers will involve "house-to-house, street-tostreet fighting," says the Palestinian. He confirms that Iraqis have mined refineries, government buildings and large homes to prevent the allies from establishing forward positions. In the process, citizens have been left without shelter. "I have seen with my own eyes that Iraqi soldiers are dug in everywhere, and they will use the local population as shields," he adds.



### The Comic-Book War

Leave it to the Japanese, who take their meticulously demiculously demiculously demiculously and adult comic books seriously, to publish the first cartoon term ment of the war. Japan's newset best seller is fraq us. U.S. rose, so the demiculation of Forces, which features a variety of war scenarios. Released on the day the war started, the 300-page collection was an immediate hit. But some of the scenes of com-

hat are improbable, showing Japanese and German soldiers participating in the conflict and U.S. forces staging a fade attack on fellow warriors to jumpstart the war. The Japanese, however, prove to he inept on the battlefield. In one scene a band of soldiers engrossed in pornographic magazines take a wrong turn in the dosert and mange to get out of their explosives-laden truck just before it accidentally just before it accidentally

### Gephardt's Head Cheerleader

Is House Speaker Tom Foley offering more than just moral support for a Dick Gephardt presidential run? Last week the Missouri Congressman got a surprise boost from Foley, who said he "would have no objection or concern about" the majority leader retaining his House post while

rouse post white making a bid for the presidency. This reduces the political gamble for Gephardt by keeping his seat warm in case he

warm in case ne loses the nomination. Moreover, Foley's endorsement gives Gephardt an excuse to back away from the pledge he made in 1989, when running for the leadership post, that he would not seek the White House in 1992.

### Fall Guy for the Chief of Staff?

White House officials say the surprise departure last week of Ed Rogers, John Sununu's top political aide, is in part an attempt by the chief of staff to paper over his own mistakes. Rogers had built a reputation as Sununu's enforcer, and was expected to be his boss's eyes and ears in the 1992 re-election campaign. But the chief of staff alienated so many Bush supporters over the past five months that damage control became necessary. Exit Rogers. Already, Sununu is having trouble finding a replacement. Said one official: "Sununu has managed to poison relationships with a lot of people, mainly through Ed. So guess who goes? Ed."

### **DEMOCRATIC HOMEWORK**

Washington may be focusing on the war, but Democrats are planning a campaign on social issues. Their prospects:

Civil Rights. Calling it a "quota bill," Bush vetoed last year's legislation, a broad antidiscrimination act. This year the Democrats plan to avoid racial overtones by recasting the measure to focus on the rights of working women. Debate will be fierce, but passage is near certain.

Family Leave. Another veto victim in '90. Bush supports the concept of unpaid leave for employees but feels the government should not compel businesses to provide it. Passage, which is likely, may force the President's hand again.

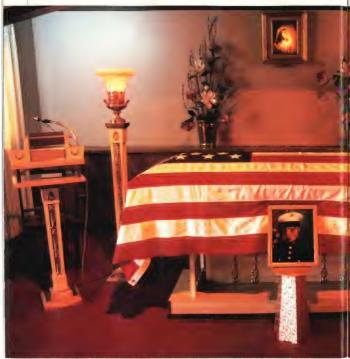
Taxes. The G.O.P. wants a cut in capital-gains taxes but won't fight very hard for it. Democrats aim to counterattack by proposing a cut in Social Security payroll taxes for the middle class. Passage is probable, with some Republican support.

Medicare: The Democrats agree privately with Bush's plan to make affluent retirees pay higher premiums for Medicare coverage. But the Dems will hesitate hecause any such "means testing" could turn Medicare into a "welfare-type" program that would lose support among the middle and upper classes. Chance of passages slight.

Education. The Democrats would love to upstage the "education President." They dream of everything from an overhaul of the student-loan system to an upgrading of teacher training. But since there's no money, there's no chance for major legislation. THE HOME FRONT

# War's Real

A small California mining town mourns a native son killed in



### The Gulf War

TIME/FEBRUARY 18, 1991

### By MICHAEL RILEY COULTERVILLE



Last Saturday they buried Thom Jenkins beneath the soaring pines of California's Sierra Nevada. As silence again envelops Dudley Cem-

etery, echoes of a U.S. Navy chaplain's words linger: "Thomas Allen Jenkins, your sacrifice will not be forgotten. Your courage stands as a beacon of liberty. You exemplify the U.S. Marine Corps motto, 'Semper Fidelis.'

Lance Corporal Jenkins was one of the first ground soldiers to be killed in action in Operation Desert Storm. He turned 21 last August, just two days before leaving for Saudi Arabia. He was killed, perhaps by friendly fire, in a clash near the Kuwait border. On Feb. 9 he returned home to Coulterville in a flag-draped casket, both a hero and a haunting reminder of war's real cost. His handsome freekled face reflects the human toll of a conflict sanitized by high-tech smart bombs and camouflaged by anisteptic acronyms like KIA (Killed in action).

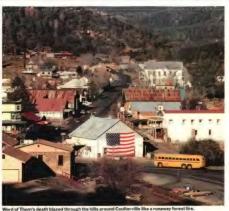
Big cities may be able to absorb the death of one young man with indifference, but in places like Coulterville (pop. 115) the loss strikes home with intense personal force. "If I could trade for Thom, I'd do it," says the distraught Marine who helped recruit him. "Poor kid."

Shortly after the Marine messengers appeared on Tom and Joyce Jenkins' front porch with the horrible news about their only son, the word blazed across these drought-stricken mountains like a runaway forest fire. The close-knit community of this historic gold-mining town, one of simple values and sturdy folk, circled its wagons around the family, including Thom's sister Jamie, 19, in a show of patriotism and support. But the Jenkins' self-less stoicism is even more telling. "Our boy came home, and we know exactly where he st," says Joyce, 39, who drives a school bus. "But there's lots of other men and women over there who need our love and support." She



### a desert battle in Saudi Arabia





wears a sweatshirt with a yellow ribbon and a simple message: ( THE THEY ALL COME HOME.

American flags and yellow ribbons adorn almost every house, pole, tree and car antenna in Coulterville, for here patriotism is a solemn duty. These people despise antiwar protesters. and they consider few acts more beinous than flag burning. So if anyone here believes Thom died in vain, he is keeping it to himself, "People do view him as a hero," says Tom, 42, who works for the state transportation department. "To me, he's my son," Tom has only simple requests. "Please be kind," he asks. "Please be honest. Don't be too big, because it's not real

After arriving in Saudi Arabia with the 1st Combat Engineers Battalion. Thom fought boredom by keeping pet scorpions-the first one, named Maurice, died; the other was called Mel Tormé-in a camouflaged desert shelter. In one letter home, he pleaded for Tabasco to spice up his rations, and in another he told a fire-fighting friend to keep the boisterous Magnotia Saloon on Main Street from burning down so they could enjoy his first legal beers there upon his return. At home, a Queensland heeler puppy named B.B. and a cat named P.J. are

still waiting for him Protected by a web of friends, the Jenkins family spoke to no outsiders during the week following Thom's death. When they finally did, it was to reminisce for several hours as the warm winter sun sank behind the mountains. They shed no tears, but rather smiled and even laughed as the memories poured forth. Though pain seemed to burn in their eyes, the healing had begun.

Just five days after hearing of Thom's death, his parents received a letter written a few days before he died. He wrote that he had never seen so many planes in his life, and that he expected to head into Kuwait after the bombing had softened up the Iragis. He had latched onto an infantry corporal who knew his business, "He's teaching me a lot," Thom wrote, "It's weird, but I'm not seared. Nervous, I guess, but not scared. I've been preparing for this for a year now, and [Aunt] Jean would probably say I'm brainwashed, but I've joined the Marines to do something for the U.S., and why not the best?" The letter ends, "Take care. I love you.

Last Christmas his parents sent Thom a 35-mm camera, and the photos from the roll he mailed home in January are among his family's greatest trea-

sures. One shows Thom clowning around in a red-checked kaffiveh under a camoullage net. Another portrays him standing in his tent, an M-16 on his arm and a cigarette hanging jauntily from his mouth. Several others show his light armored vehicle, hauntingly dubbed "Blaze of Glory." Painted on one side is a cartoon of an armed Saddam Hussein atop a camel, his body framed within the cross hairs. Says Dan Bartok, Thom's boss back when he spent a summer fighting fires for the U.S. Forest Service: "We figure he'd have pulled the mustache off of Saddam Hussein.

Thom's roots are deep in the rocky mountain soil, stretching back seven generations to Coulterville's first settlers. His forefathers arrived in the 1850s, shortly after the California gold rush began. This proud heritage infused every bit of his 6-ft. 1-in., 180lb. frame. In some of Thom's desert pictures, his greenish-brown eyes, often hidden behind mirrored sunglasses, are filled with the glint of a growing confidence as he began to make his way in the world. His bearing betrayed a lifelong fascination with the military. Thom often wore camouflage pants and shirts, and



he spent weekends playing survivalist in the mountains around his family's 160-acre ranch up toward Yosemite. His high school classmates picked him as the best companion on a desert island.

Though Thom took a lot of teasing about his paramiliary pursuits, he facinated some kids at Maripose County High School with tules about a secret cave called Hawes, where he claimed to have stored a cache of weapons. Thom could identify knees and guns with uneamny precision, and his militury obsersion gave rise to anickname, "GLI Lenkins". Another was "Indiana Janeks," since Thom often sported a hat like Indiana Janeks, and Janes an

Friends recall that if Thom dove into something, from property medical training to playing basketball in high school, he gave it his best. "He never made the first string, but he was always close." says Jon Turner, his English teacher and a Victnam vet. "If he got in, he'd win the game for you." That was

### The community circled the wagons around Tom and Joyce Jenkins in a show of patriotism and support. Said Tom: "People do view him as a hero. To me, he's my son."

true whether he was square dancing as a kid or out on a county search-and-rescue mission. His steady marksmanship enabled him to bag a four-point buck, whose weathered rack sits on a fence beside his house. Around town, folks knew Thom was coming when they saw "Baby Husy," a battered green-and-rust 1972 GMC pickup. He would zoom through mud puddles in it, yelling af friends, "Just like a deep commercial".

Though Thom had long wanted to join the Marines, the first time he talked with his dad about it the answer was no. Tom wanted his son too got ocollege, So he studded criminal justice for a year, planning to become a peace officer. But he got resiless and asked again. This time the answer was yes, Explaints Jenkins: "I have a saying—save the boy, destroy the man."

At least 15 other local men and women are in the gulf, a consequence of the convergence of patriotism and economics

### The Gulf War



"I've joined the Marines to do something for the U.S."; Thom, center, Marine Corps Commandant Alfred Gray, left, and buddles.

in rural America. Their parents are proud but also worried that their child could be next. At home, TVs blare incessantly. Parents stay awake at night hoping for reassuring phone calls from the front. They get headaches. They cry, they hug, they pray.

There was some talk around Coulterville about building a permanent memorial for Thom, but it has been silenced, "We're postponing that decision because he may not be the only one." explains Sharon Tucker, a close family friend. Thom's cousin Ed Jenkins and his friend Jason Turpin are signed up to join the Navy this summer, after they graduate from high school. Ed is the last male in the Jenkins line. "I don't know whether to serve

my family or my country," he says. But in his heart he knows he will join the

Navy The last time Tom Jenkins saw his son alive was after drinking several cups of coffee with him at the breakfast table three weeks before he left for Saudi Arabia. Two days before the funeral. Tom paid a solitary visit to the funeral home in nearby Sonora. He propped Thom's wooden-framed portrait in front of the gunmetal-gray steel casket, then stood quietly to one side, his eyes misting up. It was the first time he'd been alone with his son since Thom returned from the Persian Gulf. "Good memories flow," said Jenkins.

"They just keep flowing." Shortly after Thom's death, this poem "for Tommy J." from "Kathy B." appeared on local bulletin boards:

When Old Folks Die I Don't Cry It's Time

When The Young Ones Go It Grieves Me So

Who Can Count The Cost Of A Young Life Lost?

The Sharnest Sorrow Is For What Might Have Been





Ordering a J<sup>E</sup>B.

# **Calculus of Death**

### Bush's decision on if and when to start the land war hinges on factors involving a grisly estimate of killed and wounded

By GEORGE J. CHURCH



"The number of Americans killed will exceed tens of thousands if a ground battle occurs with Iraqi forces ... which are trained in defensive combat to an extent that ther force in the world has reached."

- Baghdad Radio

Boastful propaganda? Of course, but

George Bush for days to come. The President, his generals and allies emphasized last week that he alone will make the fateful decisions whether and when to start a ground offensive-a campaign that Baghdad Radio says Iraq "is waiting impatiently" to fight. But if he gives the go signaland it is increasingly difficult to see how he can avoid doing so-he enters into a grisly calculus of death.

The body bags that became a repellent

with just enough potential truth to haunt | cliché of pre-Jan. 16 antiwar oratory, and that have been so remarkably scarce through the first three weeks of actual war, might pile up quickly, though probably nowhere near as high as Saddam Hussein's propagandists suggest. But how many soldiers' deaths are likely if the attack begins next week, the week after, a month later, two months later? How many Iraqi civilians might die in the meantime from U.S. bombing? What number of casualties, and over how long a period, can the U.S. stand



without a disastrous loss in public support for the war? Conversely, how many more traqi civilian deaths, real or alleged, can the Arab world witness without an almost cqually devastating accelerated swing to support for Saddam? And can the allied coalition hold together, especially if Soviet support softens—as Mikhail Gorbachev's weekend statement suggests.

Officially, Bush subsection of the control of the c

The rationale for the land campaign driving traqi forces out of Kuwait – by definition means seizing and holding ground, and that is one thing air power cannot do; only tanks and infantry can. Saddam could be overthrown by a coup, or he could suddenly pull his troops out voluntarily, or those troops could be so worm down that they surrender en masse. But a commander who bases his plans on any of those things would be taking almost as much of a chance as the restaurant customer who counts on paying for his dinner with the pearl he hooge to find in an ovster.

If a land offensive seems certain, however, its timing and intensity are not. Much guessing focuses on late February or early March. French President François Mitterrand said flatly last week that the ground attack would begin "in the next few days, if not later, in any case sometime this month." But some Congressmen attending a closed-door briefing by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin Powell last week came away with a different impression. As Democratic Representative John Spratt of South Carolina put it, "I didn't get the sense anyhody is pushing for a hurry-up ground war."

The generals talk less in terms of time than of conditions. The primary one is that a land offensive should be launched only when bombing has softened the Iraqi defenses to the maximum extent possible. There is agreement that, as one Congressman emerging from the Cheney-Powell briefing said. "we're still sown distance from achieving the necessary kill level of tanks and artillery." But how soon might that point be reached? That, says General Norman Schwarzkopf, top allied commander in the gulf, involves a "compendium of actual results, measurable results, estimated results, ancedotal reports and gut feet,"

To put all those considerations together, Bush dispatched Cheney and Powell to the gulf to talk with Schwarzkopf and other allied commanders. They were scheduled to return Sunday, and will give Bush their recommendations on whether the ground war should be launched and when.

### TROLLING FOR TRUCKS

That does not necessarily mean that a hard-and-fast decision, let alone a deadline, will be fixed immediately. The initial determination could be to wait, say, two

Loading missiles aboard a tank-busting A-10 Warthog for a new go at Iraqi armor





MID-FEBRUARY THRU MID JULY

Shamal winds. These hot oppressive winds fad from ner to five days and in time and early fully, can continue almost without cessation. They can retince wishing to almost exit, making naugation effects. Shamals can exist produce strangs almospheric conditions, sometimes cansuage fever, fluerespiratory afferges and marked changes in most produce strangs almospheric conditions.

MARCH 17 To April 15

Ramsadan. One of the most important—and demanding-months of the Islamic year Observant Manisms with astronomic of the Islamic year Observant Manisms with astronomic of the Islamic year and even importance, from somerce to sunstell. March 17 for Agent 15. The holiday will almost containly intensity political and religious passons: though it is and political and religious passons: though it is and politicated as a particular important the waying were Affiliand officials say Arabi governments in this altisus say Arabi will consume some ones will consume some ones will consume sopposed an inglate dispose-sation to light during this period.



Muslims are required to perform the Hall, or polymmage its Mecca. Its least once in a lifetime. Mass travel is Sould Arabia begins early in June, with the helitidy resisting its high point June 21-22. Up its 2 million people participate each year.

more weeks and then reassess. It may take at least that long just to judge how much damage the stepped-up allied air assault is doing to Iraqi troops, weapons and supply lines—a question that is already dominating public discussion of the fighting.

With air raids averaging one sortie a minute, according to the allied command. the war can hardly be said to have hit a full. But last week was the first that brought no new oil spills. Iraqi raids into Saudi Arabia or any other surprise developments, just more or less of the same. Less: the pace of Seud-missile attacks on Israel and Saudi Arabia dwindled further: Israel went five whole days without being the target of even one. More: additional Iraqi planes fled to safety in Iran (the total is now said to be 147), though for the first time. American jets shot down six before they could cross the horder. And there were more allied bombing and strafing runs than ever.

The big change is a perceptible shift in the type of bombing, toward the sort that would pave the way for a ground offensive. American and affied planes are still carrying out the kind of "deep penetration" strikes on factories, communications facilities, bridges and other fixed targets that began Jan. 16: Baghdad late last week had been hit 22 nights in a row-every night since the war began. But by last week the majority of strikes consisted of what military men call battlefield interdiction-direet attacks on Iraqi tanks, artillery, troops and supply lines. Often the targets are not even specified in advance; pilots simply fly around looking for whatever prey they ean find, a practice they call trolling. Says Lieut, Colonel William Horne, commander of the Marine 224th Squadron at a base in the gulf area: "Before, I went after a bridge. Now I'm going after a category of targets, for instance, 'movers' [like tanks and trucks] down the road."

The Iraqis, however, have been adapting to such tactics. Horne's pilots, for example, report that Iraqi supply columns increasingly have been broken up into small groups of perhaps five trucks or cars to

avoid presenting concentrated targets. Saddam's solders also have become ever more expert at decoy practices. They put aluminum sheets under camourdage netting to confuse U.S. radar, build-small fires under metal plates that infrared sensors aboard a smart homb might read as the engine heat from a tank, and set off smoke pols to tempi aviators into reporting bomb his that never happened.

Determining how many hombs have struck such pinntons and how many have hir real targets is no mean trick. One American report quoted Pentagon sources as figuring that the fighing efficiency of the Republican Guard, Saddam's best troops, had hardly been deart of the Company of the Company of the Company had been been seen to be a superior of the hard it had been lessened "between 20th and 20% on severage." The Israels reckou that as of last week the bombing had destroyed 600 of 4,000 fragit tanks believed to be deployed in Kinsair and 4,000 to not gammating out of an esti-



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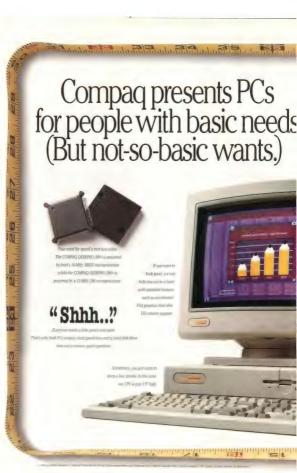




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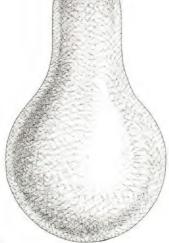


Everyone agrees we'll soon be needing more electricity. But there's little agreement on how to get it. 
Especially with the environment at stake. \*\* Hydropower is limited by geography. Nuclear 
energy's problems continue to be debated. And the sun, the wind, the tides — they're all attractive, 
but none is economically practical on a broad scale yet. \*\* So, for at least the near future, we're 
going to have to rely, for the most part, on fossil fuels. \*\* But all fossil fuels are not created 
equal. One is clearly best for the environment. And that's natural gas. \*\* Natural gas 
produces less carbon dioxide emissions, it produces no sulfur dioxide, and it creates

no particulates — the visible smoke you see. All of these are serious air pol-

lutants. \*\* Further, because new high-efficiency, gaspowered generating plants are relatively simple to build, gas is also one of the quickest and cheapest ways for producers of electricity to increase their output. \*\* In short, if natural gas didn't exist, we'd have to invent it. As it is, nature has given us vast resources of natural gas

right here in North America. It just seems natural to use them.



mated 300,000 tons that Saddam's forces have stashed away. A U.S. briefing officer claimed the number was 750 tanks destroyed, along with 650 artillery pieces and 600 armored personnel carriers.

While that would certainly mark progress, it also indicates that the fraqis still have more than enough weapons and ammunition left to put up a savage fight on the ground. True enough, the tactical bombing will be stepped up steadily from here. But almost everyone agrees that more bombing is needed before more bombing in needed before more bombing in needed before the progress of the ground assault. Two more weeks would bring the date close to the end of February, By coincidence or not, that is also the long-

standing target for the last American troops and weapons being sent to Saudi Arabia to be in place and trained and acclimated to desert conditions—in other words, ready to fight.

### WHAT'S THE RUSH?

A considerable body of U.S. political and military opinion, however, favors holding off not for weeks but for months, if not forever. The argument, in essence: Baghdad Radio was telling the truth when it said Iraq is waiting eagerly for an allied ground offensive. Saddam's strategy has always been to inflict unacceptably heavy casualties on allied forces, and mowing them down as they move through minefields and across ditches filled with burning oil offers his only chance to do so. But why play Saddam's game? Air power is the allies' overwhelming advantage: it should be used to the maximum extent possible

En route to Saudi Arabia. Chenev identified as "the No. 1 priority" expelling Iraq from Kuwait "at the lowest possible cost in terms of loss of U.S. life." That is precisely why a land offensive should be put off, argues the bomb-for-months school; prolonged bombing holds the best hope of saving allied soldiers' lives. The more tanks, troop bunkers and supply trucks that can be destroyed from the air, the less bloody an eventual ground assault will be. For Iraqis too, in fact: the pounding they are taking hunkered down in foxholes and bunkers is minor compared with what they will face if they have to come out into the open to fight allied attackers.

This line is being voiced largely by people who prior to



Massing for the "mother of battles"; Marine amphibious assault vehicles line up to refuel in Saudi desert

Jan. 16 favored giving economic sanctions a lengthy trial before any use of force at all. Some refer to bombing as "sanctions with teeth." But it also is coming from bipartisan hawks. Maine Republican William Cohen. an influential member of the Senate Armed Services Committee who voted for the resolution authorizing Bush to use

force, publicly urged the President last week to pursue the air campaign exclusive-by "for the next several months." Wisconsin Democrat Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, similarly warned against "danger ... that we will go to the ground war too soon." And one member of Bush's unofficial five-man

war cabinet asserts that the Administration hopes bombing will so cripple Iraq's fighting ability that an eventual ground offensive "will be nothing more than a mopping-up operation."

### In Need of Protection

As a ground war in the gulf comes closer, so does the prospect of chemical warfare. If U.S. troops have to fight on a poisoned battlefield, will their gas masks and protective suits keep them safe? The not completely reassuring answer is, Yes, but...

The American military gas mask, the M-17, was designed in 1955 and has not been significantly improved since. It has complicated straps and a hood that take time to sort out when delay can be fatal. Its filters are good for an hour or more in mustard gas but cannot be changed while the mask is being worn.

One of the most outspoken critics of U.S. antigas equipment is Evan Roslow, former editor of the technical journal Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Defense & Fechnology. He says the M-17 mask "gives very limited gas protection" compared with those produced by other svarc ocuntries, most off which are move modern. He also claims that the protective the U.S. uses can be penetrated by ehemical assentis.

The Pentagon denies those charges. The M-17 mask and suit, says an Army spokesman, "will protect our soldiers." Martin Calhoun, an analyst at the independent Center for Defense Information in Washington, agrees. "The M-17 does its job." As study by the Government Accounting Office in "As found that while U.S. gear was old and bulky, it offered sufficient protection.

The U.S. Army's attempts to produce a modern gasak have cost \$100 million but have been delayed 20 years by false starts and contract cancellations. Amid the praise for the Pentagon's high-tech weapons, its low-tech failures should also be noted.

### THE CASE FOR SPEED

There are some military reasons for a relatively quick start to the ground war. The air campaign eventually reaches a point of diminishing returns, when all the obvious and easy targets have been blasted. Only hardened and elusive ones remain, and hitting them requires more and more bombing to produce less and less effect. Maintaining the fighting edge of allied troops becomes more difficult the longer they sit in the sand. And the longer they wait, the greater the chance that coalition troops would have to fight in searing heat. If Iraq uses poison gas and the allied troops had to don bulky protective clothing, they could quickly reach the limits of physical endurance.

The most important arguments for speed, however, are political. The more protracted the war, the greater the chance that proposals for a compromise settlement that would leave Saddam a menace for the future would gain support. Iran made some mysterious noises about such an idea last week but got no takers. That situation might change in a month or two,



Trying to decide: Cheney gets the views of Saudi Assistant Defense Minister Utman al-Humalde while Powell huddles with Shwarzkopf in Riyadh

though-particularly if the Soviet government softens its insistence that Saddam must get out of Kuwait. And Moscow seems to be falling under the increasing influence of military men who still feel nostalgia for the old alliance with Iraq and distress at the idea of a victorious American army perched virtually on the U.S.S.R.'s southern doorstep. In a statement Satur-

masses of Arabs who have long felt humiliday. Gorbachev warned that the gulf war might begin to exceed the U.N. mandate ated by the West. And that is one problem and said he was sending an emissary to Baghdad.

The heaviest pressure is coming from the Arab world. With every day that Iraq holds out against the assaults of a coalition led by the world's sole surviving superpower. Saddam becomes more of a hero to that a prolonged bombing campaign will not ameliorate. Quite the contrary, it gives Iraq ever more opportunity to propagandize about civilian casualties

Already the Saddam government is daily escorting foreign journalists to bombed-out homes, schools and the like,

### **Dodging Friendly Fire**

raqi tanks perched on the north side of a sand ridge near the Saudi-Kuwait border were firing at a company of U.S. Marines on the south side. The Marines were returning fire with Tow antitank missiles. Overhead, a U.S. Air Force A-10 Thunderbolt swooped toward one of the Iraqi tanks and released a heat-seeking Maverick missile.

But instead of flying straight for the target, the missile was diverted by the hot exhaust of a Marine light armored vehicle that stood between the U.S. plane and the Iraqi tank. The Mayerick smacked into the left rear side of the LAV, blowing up the vehicle and killing all seven Marines inside.

The tragic exchange was one of the first engagements of the ground war, an opening volley in the 36-hour battle of Khafji. It also represents this war's first documented case of U.S. casualties from "friendly fire" -a combat cuphemism for troops' getting shot, shelled or bombed by their own side.

Friendly fire bedevils every war. Many World War II veterans recall running for foxholes whenever U.S. planes approached. In one of the worst cases on record, the Eighth U.S. Army Air Force bungled the bombing of enemy lines shortly after D-day in Normandy. Their explosives hit the Army's VII Corps, killing more than 100 soldiers and wounding 500. As in other such incidents, the G.I.s on the ground tried to defend themselves by firing back at their own planes

The U.S. armed services have developed elaborate-albeit imperfect-systems to avoid friendly fire. To prevent mishaps like the one near Khafji, Marine air-support planes carry laser-guided versions of the Maverick missile that must be guided to their targets by the pilot. Though not as smart as the infrared models favored by the U.S. Air Force, which can be fired and left to track the target on their own, the laser-guided Mayericks are less likely to mistake a friend for a foe.

Warships and attack planes carry electronic ID systems, like the IFF (Identification Friend or Foe) radio transponders that are standard equipment on military and civilian aircraft. A missile battery equipped with IFF can "interrogate" an aircraft by beaming a radio signal at it and listening to the answering squawk. But the system is not foolproof. In the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, Arab batteries fired 2,100 antiaircraft missiles and destroyed 85 aircraft-45 of them Arab, 40 Israeli.

Since IFF transponders are impractical for ground forces. aircraft flying close support stay in constant radio contact with forward air controllers, whose job it is to track the shifting battle lines and point out enemy targets. Before an attack plane can launch its missiles at a Iraqi tank, an FAC must identify the target, declare that particular plane "hot" and switch on the targeting authority on the plane's computer. "The complexity is that you've got human beings in the chain." says Army spokesman Major Peter Keating, "And at night, when everybody's moving and talking on the radio, there's no guarantee that everyone's in the right place at the right time.

No one knows that better than General Norman Schwarzkopf. Not only was he once bombed by U.S. B-52s in Vietnam, but he was the commanding officer of a young lowa farm boy, Michael Mullen, whose death by U.S. shelling became the subject of C.D.B. Bryan's 1976 best seller, Friendly Fire.

scenes that are running almost nightly on American TV. The allies insist they are going out of their way to avoid civilian targets. and the record bears them out. Baghdad's own figures on civilian casualties, while hopelessly confusing, are remarkably low, given the length and intensity of the bombing. But there is no way to entirely avoid the killing of civilians, and Saddam seems to be trying to provoke more by putting military installations among them-placing antiaircraft guns on top of apartment houses, for example. Thus a dismal equation: more bombing equals more civilian deaths equals an ever greater chance for Saddam to portray the war as an assault by Western co-Ionialists and Zionists against the entire Arab world.

Optimists insist that Arab governments that are members of the alliance-predominantly Saudi Arabia and Syria-can maintain

control, despite the surge of pro-Saddam feeling. Congressman Aspin concedes the growing strength of that sentiment. But he asserts that "those who might fall out of the coalition, either because of the impact on their public of the damage being inflicted on Iraq by the air campaign or because they want to pursue a diplomatic solution

that falls short of our war aims, are not vital to the military campaign," Maybe, but some of the staunchest U.S. allies do not want to take any chances, "We quite frankly underestimated the support for Saddam in the Arab street," says a Saudi minister, "If we don't move to cut that off as quickly as we can, the postwar peace will be harder to fashion than even the most pessimistic among us have thought." British diplomats say Bush

has written to Arab members of the coalition, pledging not to delay the ground war beyond this White House officials month. strongly deny that, but they readily admit that several Arab coalition partners are pressing the President to begin the land offensive within the next few weeks to bring the war to a relatively speedy end. Thus one central question in the decision could be bluntly phrased this way: How many American and allied soldiers' lives is it worth to cut off pro-Saddam sentiment among the Arab masses before it burgeons enough to threaten both the war effort and the eventual peace?

In an airborne briefing en route to Saudi Arabia, however,



Egyptian soldiers guard Iraqis who surrendered – but will bombing break the morale of more troops?

Powell cautioned against the idea that the | lines in Kuwait, with paratroop drops and "ground campaign, as the night follows the day, means huge casualties." Saddam may be planning a Verdun in the sand, but allied commanders insist they are not going to oblige him by relying primarily on frontal attacks on the impressive Iraqi fortifications. The campaign instead is likely to combine a flanking maneuver around the

amphibious landings behind those lines.

Most of all, as Cheney and Powell insisted to the point of monotony, a ground war would not be just a land battle but a combined land-air assault. They even talked of the ground campaign as a kind of supplement to a continued and intensified air war. The likely meaning:

the aim of all the assaults would be to draw the Iragis out from their fortifications and into a war of maneuver. Iragis are not considered good at such fighting, and, more important, they would be doing it without vital air cover. Frontal attacks. where they occurred, would be preceded by heavy aerial bombardment and would be aimed at piercing holes in the lines. which the Iraqis would have to try to seal off by counterattack. That would require them to come out into the open and expose themselves to pitiless

bombing and strafing. Such tactics might indeed hold down allied casualties. But there is no getting around the fact that the toll of soldiers killed in a day of land fighting-even the delayed, low-intensity mopping-up operation that some airpower advocates still foresee -- is likely to exceed by far the number of pilots lost in a month of the most ferocious bombing. Deciding whether and when to start a ground offensive inescapably turns into pondering a calculus of death. -Reported by William Dowell/Dhahran, William Mader/London and Bruce van Voorst with Cheney

and Downill



nen passing rubble left by U.S. bombing of Baghdad

### AUGUST 31

66 In a day he would be decimated. It would be over in a day, 99

-Captain Jay Yakeley, commander of the air wing on the U.S.S. Independence, **New York Times** 

**66Air** power is the only answ that's available to our country 77 to avoid a bloody land

war.

-General Michael Dugan, Air Force chief of staff. Washington Post manage

### SEPTEMBER 16 NOVEMBER 8

**66And I would** think that wh he [Saddam] surveys the force that's there . . . he wil recognize that he is up against a foe that he can't possibly

-President George

Bush. White House

news conference

militarily, 77

### **NOVEMBER 18 66A** short one

that would be over in a matter of days. 77 - Lieut, General Sir

Peter de la Billière, British commander in Saudi Arabia. cribing a potential war with frac

### DECEMBER 31

**66If force is** necessary, it will be quick, massive and decisive. 99

-Vice President Dan Quayle, speaking to troops in Saudi Arabia

### JANUARY 8 441 judge the

risk of a bloody campaign, wi casualties in the 10.000-to-20,000 range,

including several thousand fatalities, to be small. 99

-Report by Wisconsin Representative Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee

The Gulf War

### PERCEPTIONS

# **Sorting Out the Mixed Signals**

### Bombarded with conflicting messages about the length of the war, many are confounded about what to expect next

### By WILLIAM A. HENRY III



By any objective standard, the gulf war has gone well and the outcome seems about as assured as anything can be in an uncertain world. Why, then, do so

many Americans (and, seemingly, citizens of other coalition countries) have a vague feeling of unease, if not outright disillusignment, that the fighting seems nowhere near a conclusion? After great expectations of a relatively easy victory, the U.S. public has settled into a more realistic, in some cases too pessimistic, view of what is to come. The initial uncontested air raids and gec-whiz video glimpses of bombing turned out to be less decisive than they seemed in the first flush of euphoria, and the dream of immediate surrender has deteriorated into occasional fears that nothing will crack Saddam Hussein's will. Although polls released last week show

an increase to about half in the number of respondents who expect combat to last six months or more - considerably longer than White House and Pentagon officials predict-about four-fifths of those polled continue to support the war. That is much more upbeat than in France, where a Paris Match/B.V.A. poll last week showed that 70% of respondents feared degeneration into a third world war. But the hint of U.S. pessimism underscored a widespread feeling that the American people had been misled, or perhaps been encouraged to mislead themselves, about how hard it would be to dislodge Iragis from Kuwait.

The people who might logically be charged with evoking this excess cheerthe military, the Bush Administration and Congress, foreign leaders and the news media-are quick to point out that they voiced caution before the confrontation and again even during the elation of its first days. Yet many of these same people also aired speculative scenarios that were much more optimistic. They veered between ebullient optimism and tight-lipped restraint as they tried to sustain public support and coalition unity, and keep pressure on Saddam, without building up unreasonable hopes. Not surprisingly, much of the public chose to hear and believe the ebullience more than the restraint

It is only human nature to wish for the best, to recoil from the prospect of massive cost and suffering. In this instance, optimism was further fueled by vivid memories of the two-month war in the Falklands, the nine-day conquest of Grenada and the 14day ousting of Manuel Noriega as dictator of Panama. While repeatedly reminding audiences that Iraq is a better entrenched and more highly armed opponent than the loser in any of those conflicts. President Bush also recurrently promised that any battle against Iraq would in no way resemble the "protracted, drawn-out war" in Vietnam. On Jan. 16, the day battle began, Bush said, "I'm hopeful that this fighting will not go on for long and that casualties will be held to an absolute minimum." His words were carefully crafted to be bolstering yet noncommittal. But one could hardly blame the public for taking them, even in the context of his other cautions, as a virtual pledge of a short war.

Nor was Bush alone in such forthright optimism. Senators Daniel Inouve of Hawaii and Ted Stevens of Alaska returned from the gulf in December and said they had been told by military officials that a war with Iraq could be completed in five days, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak said Saddam's expectation of victory showed he was "living in another world," and predicted his troops would yield within three or four weeks. While few others were

### JANUARY 17

66We are prepared to continue the operation just as long as we need to in order to achieve our objectives . . . That could be a significant period of time.

or it could be a

relatively short

period of

time. "

- Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, Pentagon news conference

### JANUARY 21

441 feel quite sure that a protracted ground war, in the sense that ! think you're talking aboutone that takes

months or years-yes, can be avoided. 99

-Lieut. General sas Kelly, director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Pentagon briefing

441 think it may take three or four weeks. something like this. 77

- Egyptian Presid Hosni Mubarak ABC's Primetime Live

-Secretary of State ing to the House

FEBRUARY 6

44The task is formidable, a

no one should

underestimate

Saddam's

### FEBRUARY 6

66Things are going darned ell over there. I feel very confident that this matter is going to resolve itself, and it's James Baker, not going to take that long,

and it is going

to be total and

complete. 99

### **FEBRUARY 7**

441 believe the land war is inevitable. There is no indication that the Iraqi army is going to crack in the immediate future. 77

> -Sir Pete in Saudi Arabia

-Bush, at a billsigning ceremony

Foreign Affairs

Committee

daring (or imprudent) enough to offer a precise timetable, many military and civilian officials described the potential conflict as lopsided and brief. British Defense Minister Tom King told the House of Commons in December, "It will be short, sharp and quick, and the casualties on the allied side will be kept to a minimum.

The word quick can mean vastly different things, however, as Representative

Barbara Boxer of suburban San Francisco indicated in January during the course of the House floor debate against the war. Although she argued that any amount of combat would impose too steep a price, she conceded to colleagues, "We will win this war-quickly! Maybe two weeks, maybe two monthsthat's quick. Maybe at most six months-that's quick. I guess." There is, alas, a huge difference between two weeks and six months in money spent, suffering inflicted and lives lost.

The news media have dutifully reported both optimistic and pesmonths but have shown a readier appetite for in-your-face remarks than

cautions. That was certainly the experience of retired Admiral William Crowe, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Appearing on ABC's This Week with David Brinkley last August, Crowe predicted, "In a major clash, we'll clean their clocks. If not today, later." He added that both sides would pay a terrible price. His words were quoted (sometimes misquoted) around the world, often with the warning omitted.

There are pragmatic reasons why journalists may, at least subconsciously, have erred on the side of enthusiasm. They want cooperation from military officials, without which any war on this difficult terrain would be almost impossible to cover. And they are eager not to be accused of being so skeptical that they are unpatriotic-a charge that was widely leveled during Vietnam, arose in Grenada and Panama and is

surfacing again. Even with the purest motives, the media have been led astray by an irreconcilable variety of expert opinion. Stories happiest rather than the likeliest, they were widely reported and believed by news consumers seeking reassurance.

Once battle began, confusion was compounded by the use of such terms as air supremacy and precision bombing, which mean something particular to military officers but carry more sweeping implications for the untutored listener. The peculiar physical circumstances of the war, which so far have afforded reporters few direct op-

> portunities to witness the air battle or determine the impact on Irag's forces, further fueled the optimism. The military has controlled much of the information flow-and has understandably stressed its achievements

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney warned, at the end of the first week of battle, that "a military operation of this intensity and complexity cannot be scored every evening like a college track meet or a basketball tournament." Yet the Pentagon went on releasing, and the media went on using, comparative statistics that did resemble scores, accom-

panied by bombing footage that often called to mind a Nintendo video game in which the U.S. team was skunking the opposition. It has often been said that sport is the modern lightning rod for the tribal loyalties once stirred by war. If so, it may not be surprising that war should be covered like sport, with tub-thumping emphasis on how one-sidedly the home team will win. But sports fans crave the illusion of a guaranteed future. In war, misguided optimism can be as dangerous as any other stray missile - Reported by Dan Goodgan Washington, with other bureaus



simistic assessments over the Optimism balancing pessimism: Pentagon briefer Thomas Kelly

based on Air Force sources have tended to be more unbeat about what air strikes alone could accomplish; stories based on Army sources have naturally tended to emphasize the importance of ground troops. From mid-August to mid-January, bestcase scenarios abounded of a two-week air war, with U.S. dead no more than a few hundred. They were offered by White House, Pentagon and Congressional officials, who sought to buoy public support yet not make it so contingent on optimism that it could evanesce. Although these seenarios were usually characterized as the

### THE ARAB WORLD

### The Fuse Grows Shorter

### Each day that Saddam survives the war he becomes more of a regional hero while the image of his opponents grows increasingly menacing

### By LISA BEYER



Saddam Hussein may have figured it right if he was calculating that he could win on the Arab street even while losing in the skies and the sands of the gulf. Each day that the allies throw their best punches at him and leave him standing, Saddam's prestige among ordinary Arabs grows. And so does hatred of the U.S. and its coalition partners-at least in certain

The U.S. pretended to come to free Kuwait, but instead it is bombing the Iraqi people," says Mohammed Kamal, a Jordanian senator and former ambassador to Washington. Even in Saudi

Arabia, many citizens, disturbed by the ferocity of the air strikes on Iraq and widespread expectations of a drawn-out conflict, harbor doubts about the wisdom of the war.

Even where attitudes have not changed much since the battle's onset, governments remain edgy. In Egypt, for instance, though opposition to the fight against Saddam remains limited to a relatively small group of leftists and fundamentalists, authorities cracked down hard on the first, small anti-U.S. demonstration, which occurred last week. When the participants refused to disperse, 200 riot police waded into the crowd and arrested a handful of protesters

The stakes in the battle for public opinion are especially high in three places:

In Jordan, Palestinians show which side they are on: popular opinion there, which is almost uniformly pro-Saddam, was one reason for King Hussein's tough speech last week

### JORDAN The King Speaks Out

rom the beginning, Jordan's King Hussein has professed neutrality in the gulf confrontation, though by allied lights he has tilted toward Saddam. In an uncharacteristically sharp-tongued television address last week, the King appeared to abandon his balancing act and instead focused on blasting Baghdad's challengers. The war in the gulf, said Hussein, is "against all Arabs and Muslims, not only against Iraq." Its "real purpose," he went on, is to "destroy Iraq and rearrange" the Arab nation so as to put "its aspirations, and resources under direct foreign hegemony." Such a speech, playing up the themes of Muslim unity and foreign designs on the region, sounded a lot like recent pronouncements from Baghdad.

Washington's public reaction to the King's outburst was mild at first. President Bush said the Jordanians had "made a mistake to align themselves so closely with Saddam," but added that he had tried to understand the pressures on King Hussein. By the next day it was clear that the President, who last Christmas sent King Hussein a card bearing the inscription "I'm still your friend!," had lost his patience. The Jordanians, Bush said, "seem to have moved over, way over into Saddam Hussein's camp." That, he said, "complicates" U.S.-Jordanian relations. The White House announced that it was considering withholding aid to Jordan, which was expected to total \$55 million for 1991.

While those who know him say King Hussein is genuinely bitter that the U.S. attracked Iraq, his behavior is also clearly influenced by popular opinion in Jordan, which is avidly—and almost uniformly pro-Saddam, Says Samuel Lewis, former U.S. ambassador to Israel: "The King is concentrating on riding his domestic tiger."

In the early days of the war, Amman was unexpectedly quict, in part because the efficiency of the police, who have stationed the efficiency of the police, who have stationed parties along major roads to prevent unrest. Since the people and government in Jordan have the same position on the war, the friction that gives rise to protest is abso reduced. In addition, the country's relatively free press serves as a vent for popular fury. Nonetheless, in recent weeks, extremis have shot at or set fire to ocean't Western Cultural Center, a branch of the British Bank of the Middle East and a parked en belonging to the U.S. milliars vatacle.

The attacks caused no injuries but helped persuade the State Department two weeks ago to ask all 5,000 Americans still in Jordan to leave and to draw down the U.S. embassy in Amman to a skeletal staff. That only elicited more vituperation from Jordanians, many of whom believe the move was unwarranted and calculated to tarnish the country's reputation.

The massive scale of the allied bombings of Iraq has stunned and outraged many. "We thought Americans were civilized," says Sheik Muhammad al-Faiz, a prosperous landowner who lives south of Amman, "But now we see that they are savages." The fact that Jordanians have died in the attacks has further inflamed emotions. As of last week, 31 Jordanian trucks, which Amman says were carrying oil, had been hit on the Amman-Baghdad highway, killing seven of the drivers and wounding ten. Jordan officially protested to the U.S., which replied that it had good information that Iraqi war materiel was being moved in convoys containing civilian oil trucks, making them legitimate targets.

Meanwhile, Iraq's missile strikes on Israel, while militarily insignificant, have proved a political bonanza for Saddam among the Arab masses. "It was incredible to see Tel Aviv in a panic," says Amman businessman Ahmed Abdul Khaleq. "This is the strength of Saddam. For once, we can hit the Israelis."

SAUDI ARABIA

### Qualms Among The Protected

n Saudi Arabia, Saddam has no following to speak of. The Saudis remain unwavering in their disdain for him and in their opposition to his invasion of Kuwait. Still, some Saudis are privately beginning to question the conduct of the war. Washington's motives for waging it and the consequences for Riyadh's future relations with other Arab states.



Saudi soldiers pray in the desert: even in Saudi Arabia, where Saddam has no following to speak of, people harbor doubts about the wisdom of the war and U.S. motives in waging it

Many Saudis, naively, were shocked to learn that the war will be neither fast nor painless. "Truly this war is worse than Saddam," says a religious teacher in the Eastern province, expressing a level of dissent rarely heard in his tightly wrapped society. "The Americans are testing their weapons on our Arab people," he says. "They promised this would be quick and it is not."

The shifting objectives of the U.S. have raised suspicions. Some Saudies complain that first the Americans said they would use military might only to defend Saudi Arabia; then that they would use force to push Said and from Kuwati: now they are making it plain that by pursuing targets deep inside trans, they also mean to emaccalite the Irraq inditiary. Says a Saudi Pournalist: "I think weaks to be completed from the said of the said o

Some Saudis are also questioning the high profile of the U.S. in their country. "The Americans are running the government," grumbles a high-ranking industrial executive. "This is an occupying force there." Others are troubled by the long-term consequences of the U.S. presence. "The stame world will blame the Saudis," says that we would blame the saudis, says the consequence of the U.S. presence. "The Vou're the unes who brought the Americans. No one will have respect for us in the Arab League."

Saudi Arabia's religious conservatives

are particularly dismayed by the presence of non-Muslim soldiers in the kingdom and the destruction of an eighboring Arab country. Warns a prominent Saudi prince: "If the government does not sort them out"—that is, contain their influence—"then in ten years we will have a Khomeini-like regime." With this in mind, the government has arrested a number of Islamic activists.

### THE MAGHREB

### A Torrent of New Converts

While Jordanian antipathy to the war was expected, the reaction in the Maghreb was something of a surprise. There, pro-Iraqi passions have grown so strong that they threaten to destabilize the governments of Morocco, Algeria and

Tunisia. Sympathy for Saddam has been expressed most freely-and violently-in Algeria, whose reforms two years ago made it the most democratic of the North African countries. Soon after the war erupted, the opposition Islamic Salvation Front, which has unsuccessfully pressed the government to organize training camps for volunteers to fight for Iraq, led 400,000 people in a march through Algiers carrying signs such as MITTERRAND ASSASSIN, BUSH ACCOM-PLICE. A follow-up rally two weeks ago attracted 60,000 people. In angrier manifestations of popular feeling, protesters in Constantine sacked part of the French consulate and set fire to the Air France office. In the capital, the bureau of the French news agency was fire bombed and a French teacher was beaten and stabbed.

Faced with such fervor, President Chadli Bendjedid has attempted to ride the popular wave so as not to be engulfed by it. Though he initially condemned Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, he proclaimed in a recent radio address, "Algeria stands at the side of its brother Iraq." At the same time. Bendjedid does not want to give carte



At last week's march, Moroccans shout their support for Baghdad: popular sentiment in the Maghreb has forced governments there to express solidarity with Iraq

blanche to the Islamic Salvation Front, I he said went "beyond the tolerable." which took a majority of the seats in the country's first municipal elections last June and could well dominate a parliamentary vote this spring. In a statement, the government denounced "those who, under the pretext of circumstantial solidarity with the Iraqi people, want to impose an Islamic dictatorship.

Like Bendjedid, Tunisia's President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali is trying to tack with the wind, but it is a fierce one. Support for Saddam has unnerved Ben Ali enough that he gave a speech condemning "the destruction and devastation of Iraq," which

Tunisia has stepped up security patrols in the cities to prevent demonstrations. Unauthorized protests still occur every few days, to be broken up by police, often brutally. At the start of the conflict. Ben Ali had the leaders of Ennahdha, the principal Islamic organization, rounded up and jailed. Uncowed, another group, the clandestine Islamic Liberation Party, proclaimed a holy war to chase the "miscreant" Westerners from the gulf

Popular sentiment has forced Morocco's King Hassan II to make an even

sharper turnabout than his Algerian and Tunisian counterparts. Grateful for generous Saudi aid in his war against the Polisario Front rebels in the Western Sahara. Hassan contributed 1,300 troops to the allied coalition. But when opposition parties and trade unions declared a general strike two weeks ago to denounce the war, the King, having measured the mood of the country, allowed the protest to take

Hassan also agreed to permit a pro-Iraqi march last week. Attracting 300,000 people, it was the biggest demonstration since Morocco's independence in 1956. Although the King had forbidden criticizing the deployment of Morocean troops to the gulf, some marchers did so anyway, in an unusual display of defiance in a country as tightly controlled as theirs. An estimated 25,000 Islamic fundamentalists brought up. the rear of the march in the most organized manifestation of their strength ever seen in

The greatest danger for the leaders of all these countries-short of a well-aimed terrorist's bullet - is that the humiliation of a Muslim leader at the hands of infidels. particularly a leader who dared to confront Israel, will fuel religious extremism. "This is a religious war," says Khaled Saleh Khlefat, a Koranic teacher in Jordan. "It will promote Islamic nationalism throughout the Muslim world.

The bitter irony is that even Saddam's followers recognize him as a thoroughly secular man who uses religion only when it is expedient. It is a testament to the power of Islamic solidarity that such a prodigal son can draw the Muslim ranks around him in a crisis that he provoked. - Reported by Margot Homblower/Paris, Lara Marlowe/Dhahran and James Wilde/Amman

### On the Disco Front

t is a quarter to one in the morning, and Medo, a 16-year-old Kuwaiti, is chatting with his friend and compatriot Khaled, 22, as they prop up a wall at Sultana's, the third-floor disco at Cairo's Semiramis Inter-Continental. "Cairo is boring," grumbles Medo. Khaled murmurs in agreement as he eyes the action on the floor. "I come here every night," Medo says. "There's nothing else to do."

Nothing to do! Their country has been snatched by a thief; Americans, Egyptians, Britons and Saudis, among others, are braving the gulf deserts and Saddam's rockets to win it back for them, and these two able-bodied young men say there is nothing to do. For those who do not think Kuwait is worth the fight, the habits of Medo and Khaled are all the anecdotal evidence needed to prove the Kuwaitis are a spoiled and arrogant bunch

But Kuwait's elders do understand the problem. One exile group in Cairo has sent flyers to the 7,000 Kuwaiti families in the city, asking them to behave modestly and stop gathering conspicuously in public. Sober-minded Kuwaitis insist that their boogie-loving brethren, featured prominently in the

Western media, make up only a tiny minority of their countrymen. "A lot of the criticism is bitter and not deserved just because there are a few crazy people," says Adeeb Essa, spokes-

man for the Association for Free Kuwait in London. In fact, while Kuwaitis were the most notorious among the gulf nationalities for flaunting their wealth and easy lifestyle, the Aug. 2 invasion was a cold shower for most of them. Though a few youths still dance the nights away, many of their peers are at the front. An estimated 23,000 Kuwaitis are believed to be under arms in Saudi Arabia. Only 7,000 are military personnel who escaped from Kuwait; the rest are volunteers. When an exile group in Cairo organized a training program for nurse's aides, 500 Kuwaitis applied for the 120 slots. Other displaced Kuwaitis are preparing for new lives in a liberated Kuwait by taking courses in such things as automobile repair, plumbing, electrical wiring and, for women, housekeeping. In the past, foreign laborers did such work, but the new Kuwait is expected to be much more selfsufficient. Perhaps Medo and Khaled figure they'd better party while they can.



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## **Angling for the Postwar Edge**

Fearing pressure to compromise with the Palestinians, Yitzhak Shamir carefully plots his strategy

By JON D. HULL TERUSALEM



What a difference a war can make. Before the allied bombing of Iraq began. Yitzhak Shamir seemed destined never to win any popularity contests. Devoid of charisma, stubborn and introverted, the

Prime Minister often provoked yawns in Israel and angst in Washington.

Ever since air-raid sirens first wailed throughout Israel, however, Shamir has been praised for his unprecedented restraint and calm leadership in the face of at least 31 Scud missile attacks that have left at least four dead and more than 300 wounded. George Bush has telephoned more often in the past month than in the past two years, and Shamir's ratings at home have never been higher.

But Shamir is far too suspicious to fall for such flattery. Instead, he is already strengthening his defenses for the political battle he believes Washington and the allies will wage against his hard-line government once the smoke clears over Kuwait. Fearing renewed pressure to compromise with the Palestinians. Shamir is taking ad-

vantage of his sudden popularity to shore up support in Congress, further discredit the Palestinians and harden his own government against any territorial concessions

The Likud Party leader dug in deeper last week by appointing extremist ex-General Rehavam Ze'evi as Minister Without Portfolio and a member of the Cabinet's defense committee. If Shamir intended to dampen speculation about what Secretary of State James Baker called "opportunities to build a more secure world order," he picked the right man. Ze'evi, whose Moledet (Homeland) Party holds two Knesset seats, advocates the transfer to neighboring Arab states of all 1.7 million Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza.

The appointment shocked even Shamir lovalists. Knesset member Benjamin Begin warned that any member of the governing coalition who advocated a transfer policy "is, in effect, confirming the United Nations resolution that says Zionism is tantamount to racism." Shamir sought to downplay the controversy as party politics, insisting that transfer was out of the question. After a stormy Knesset debate, the nomination was approved by a vote of 61 to 54.

Shamir's willingness to expend goodwill attests to his determination to buttress his government against any future political offensive by Washington, With Moledet, Shamir's coalition has 66 of 120 seats, lessening his dependence on the pivotal but fickle religious parties and assuring him that he can keep the Labor Party on the sidelines. More important. Ze'evi's presence signals to both the West and the Arab

world that Israel has not gone soft. Despite a warning last week by Deputy Chief of Staff Ehud Barak that the military's "fingers itch" to carry out a retaliation against Iraq, Shamir is unlikely to give the go-ahead in the near future unless additional missiles cause significant casualties or contain chemical warheads. Though his restraint is billed as a tremendous sacrifice, his stance so far is based entirely on self-interest. The Jewish state's most powerful Arab foe is being destroyed, at least 80% of Israelis are against immediate retaliation, and the government is scoring valuable points with Washington

In return, Shamir is hoping for lenient treatment once the U.S. turns its attention



For resisting retaliation, Shamir wins praise from the Wes In return, he hopes to harden his stance against the Arabs.

to the Arab-Israeli conflict. He may be in for a surprise. Says a U.S. diplomat: "We're going to owe some Arab countries much more than we owe Israel." Distrusting Bush and Baker, Shamir is banking instead on the support of Congress, which will have its eye on the 1992 elections.

As a precaution, Shamir has also promised to revive his own peace initiative, which he buried last year after Baker took it seriously. The plan called for direct peace talks with the Arab states, as well as elections in the territories to choose leaders who would then negotiate limited autonomy with Israel. This time Shamir hopes to quash the P.L.O.'s campaign for a Palestinian homeland once and for all,

while demanding that Arab nations end their state of belligerency with Israel. He says. "Arafat and his ilk are the biggest supporters of the murderer in Baghdad. The time has come for the international community to distance itself from this terrorist organization. That process is already under way. Says Samuel Lewis former LLS am



bassador to Israel: "The Administration has learned the need to deal with the Arab states at least in parallel with the

While fending off unwelcome peace probes. Jerusalem intends to transform the widespread sympathy in the U.S. into billions of dollars in additional military and financial aid. Last month Finance Minister Yitzhak Modai estimated that Israel would need \$3 billion to cover war-related costs and \$7 billion to \$10 billion more in grants and loan guarantees over the next five years to help absorb Soviet Jewish immigrants. The angry response in Washington forced Shamir to backpedal furiously, and the figures are now described as mere talking points.

The war against Iraq has improved both Israel's image and its security. But unless Shamir can adapt to the postwar order, those gains will be short-lived. So far, his ambitious strategy looks disastrous. As long as he refuses to deal with the Palestinians, he cannot expect peace with the Arab states. Nor will Washington automatically provide the billions in aid needed to house and employ Soviet Jews. If Shamir simply chooses to hunker down and avoid compromise, his nation may find itself even more isolated than it was before the war. - With reporting by Christopher Ogden/Washington



**PUBLIC OPINION** 

## Can the Pro-War Consensus Survive?

In Korea and Vietnam, backing for war dissolved as the death toll mounted, but that pattern might be broken by a decisive U.S. victory

By NANCY GIBBS



What would it take to shatter the consensus behind George Bush's policy in the gulf? A meat-grinder war of attrition, strewed with melting bodies in charred

tanks? A female prisoner of war paraded on videotape? A bombed-out Statue of Liberty, sinking in tiny copper pieces to the bottom of New York harbor? Conventional wisdom holds that if a ground war begins and the body bags start piling up, backing for the war will dissolve. This is not just the expert condescension that assumes Americans will sustain a war only as long as it mimics a video game. The judgment is based on what happened in Korea and Vietnam and on the alchemy of public opinion. Before the bombing in the gulf began, a majority favored letting sanctions work; afterward, pollsters registered 80% approval for Bush's handling of the crisis. In light of America's Vietnam memories. the shimmving of the popular will raises tough questions about the true firmness of support. Those questions, in turn, make the job of the President and his generals immeasurably harder.

While the generals direct the fighting, the President must direct the theater. Recently, Bush has missed no opportunity to cast the war in moral terms and has rarely been so eloquent as when expressing his conviction that this is a fight between good and evil. To focus on the heroism of allied forces and the villainy of Saddam Hussein lends the story line a moral clarity that Vietnam utterly lacked. "Our patriotic impulse is also a moral impulse," says Professor John Schutz, who teaches a history course at the University of Southern California called "Patriotism and the American Spirit." "I notice that George Bush spends a lot of time in church or on the air saying this is a just war. Vietnam wasn't defined that way. It wasn't justified in the public mind

But the justice of a war depends on its means and costs as well as its cands, and the Administration has struggled to manage these as well. For once, the peppy President is wary of cheerleading. He wants to send the message that the war is going well.

but at the same time he fears the unreal expectations of a quick and bloodless victory that the footage of "smart" bombs can raise. For all the effort to manage the news-banning the shots of flag-draped coffins at Dover Air Force Base, spooning out upbeat statistics at briefings, keeping the press pool tightly leashed - the fact remains that this is a war of uncontrollable images. It unwinds at high velocity on live television, and the audience reacts just as quickly. "In earlier wars, even in Vietnam, it took months and years for public opinion to shift," says a senior White House official. "In this age of real-time journalism, our concern is that any major setback or anything that hurts the Administration's credibility could send public support sliding in a matter of weeks.

The longer the war lasts, the more pressure the President will feel. Saddam may be an archetynal villain, but the more apparent that becomes, the easier it will be to conclude that his people have already suffered enough. Stories of Iraqi commanders shooting deserters on the spot make it hard to demonize the teenage conscripts on the Iraqi front lines. And if it is possible to pity the enemy soldiers who are being "softened up" by B-52 bombers, it is easy to ache for the civilians trapped inside a nation pounded by an aerial assault they could do nothing to prevent. While Americans wince at the sight of wounded children and grieving mothers, the phrase "collateral damage" is a Band-Aid on a gash in the public imagination.

This helps explain the great care with which the war has been fought to date. Bush has wen tremendous support for the measured, multinational approach he has taken since Aug. 2, collaborating with the U.N., the Congress and other Arab countries. The extraordinary elforts American pilots have made to avoid civilian targets have not been lost on the public.

The irony is that the President's cautious strategy has not always meshed well with his rhetoric. While actually conduct-

Yellow ribbons in East Sandwich, Mass., honor people who have written letters to the troops; Army recruits take the oath of allegiance at Fort Jackson in Columbia, S.C. ing a limited war, he has promised that American soldiers will not light "with one hand tied behind their backs." The mismatch between Bush's words and deeds could lead to confusion in the public mind.

"Americans have a very difficult time understanding and accepting limited war." says UCLA history protessor Robert Dallek. White he and other historians note that support for the Korean and Wetnam was fell as all-out, no-sholds-barreld battle might have done less damage to public opinion. Even at all-out, no-sholds-barreld battle might have done less damage to public opinion. Even at the height of the 1988 Tet offensive, when public opinion sharply dipped against Lynon Johnson's Vietnam policy, the dissenters, were evenly split between those who to find the public opinion sharply dipped against Lyncus were evenly split between those who it founds those agaresis who wanted





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The debate over whether to let sanctions work or send in the bombers has now evolved into a debate over whether to let the bombers work or send in the tanks. To carry the public along, the Administration must take care that its decision to launch a ground offensive not be perceived as reckless, born of interservice rivalry or political pressure. No one knows better than those in the White House that a ground war would be ghastly. The most searing words of caution come from those who, like Bush, have seen war for themselves. "These kids just do not know what they are going to see when the shooting starts," says Herbert Dennard, a railroad inspector in Macon, Ga., who was a 19-year-old Marine in Vietnam in 1965. "And their parents will never know the horror of their deaths. They'll be heroes for being gung-ho.

Some Administration officials fear that the popular mood might spin when the ground fighting begins, "So far, the U.S. casualties have been so low that people haven't really had to view this war in terms of the cost in lives," admits a White House official. Others note that patriotism is easy on the cheap-and that nothing would concentrate the public mind more quickly than reinstitution of the draft. "That would really put the fat in the fire," says Dallek. Such a move is unlikely, however, since Bush said at a press conference last week that he had "absolutely no intention of reinstating the draft

But though the prevailing opinion is

YES 58% NO 31%

If a ground war occurs, do you think it is likely that:

American forces will suffer a high number of casualties

Iraq will use chemical or biological weapons against troops

calculation may be more complicated. To begin with, the war in the gulf is not a unilateral guerrilla war to suppress a national liberation movement; it is a struggle to evict an invading army from a neighboring country it is occupying in defiance of the U.N. A TIME/CNN poll conducted last week by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman found that 79% expected U.S. casualties in a land war to be in the thousands or tens of thousands. Despite such catastrophic losses, 58% said they believe the war would

be worth the toll in American lives Though such opinions could rapidly shift in the face of an actual bloodletting, similar results in other surveys have delighted officials in the Administration, who

1 to 6 months

6 months or more

50% The allied ground forces will be able to end the war quickly

that support will fall if casualties soar, the | believe the polls indicate there is overwhelming support for its actions. It is a measure of White House attention to public opinion that such polls are cited in detail not only by political advisers but also by war planners like National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft. Even high casualties might not make much of a dent. "To win this war we've got to hit 'em on the ground," says Isaac Freeman, a deliverytruck driver in Washington. "To hit 'em on the ground we're gonna have to accept that a lot of people will die.

One lesson gleaned from Vietnam is that the nation will not accept a bloody stalemate. If young lives are to be lost, Americans want at least that they not be wasted. "We're in this thing now-we can't

## ELCOME TO THE UNITED STATES ARMY



just walk away," says James McKeown, a commercial developer whose company headquarters in Woburn, Mass., is wrapped in a huge yellow bow three stories high and 22 ft. wide. The way the soldiers die could also have an impact. If thousands are slaughtered by poison gas, the rage for revenge could quickly drown the outeries for

withdrawal.

Finally, a victory may offset the cost in lives and treasure. "Any military adventure, however poorly conceived, however dubious the strategic objective, is absolutely validated by victory," says former Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt, a history buff. "Once we commit to the use of force and it's decisive, then the cost is automatically worthwhile, without any exceptions in the course of American history."

A more cynical prediction is that those deaths, like so many other violent and untimely ones, could eventually lose their impact on the American psyche. Tiananmen Square, Panama, Lithuania all captured the nation's attention and

held it briefly before they smeared into | background noise. Since the fighting began, many more people have died on America's highways or by gunfire in its cities than in the sands of the gulf-but at the moment. the soldiers' deaths matter more, since



Killed in action: rites for Marine Sergeant Garrett Mongrella Will the consensus last as the body bags start coming home?

right now they loom larger than life. The perverse calculus of morbid fascination holds that once the soldiers have become statistics, public opinion will move on.

For all the speculation about the nation's uncertainties, some predictions are

widely shared. In interview after interview, people affirm that no matter how awful the war might become, support for the soldiers will hold firm. "This is a real legacy of Vietnam," says Boston business consultant Jack Caldwell. "People seem determined this time not to blame the troops, never to leave them unsupported.

So far, nothing indicates that public support for the war is a whim. Having been chastised in the past for the restlessness and impatience with which their nation conducts its affairs, the majority of Americans seem to regard the battle as a duty that must be borne. There is little war fever that could turn into panic in the face of a temporary setback. If the public changes its mind, it would be only after the war bogged down in an inconclusive quagmire

Unshackled by the vagaries of public opinion, despots find it easier than do the leaders of democracies to march their countries into battle. But once they begin a war, Americans have an appetite for vic-

tory. If Saddam Hussein is betting that antiwar protests can grant him a triumph he cannot win on the battlefield, the odds are much against him. - Reported by Robert Ajemian/Boston, Dan Goodgame/Washington and Joseph J. Kane/Atlanta

## Shooting the Messenger

hough most Americans have pondered their country's march to war with a certain amount of common sense, the same cannot be said for all their representatives on Capitol Hill. In recent weeks the halls of Congress have been fouled by superpatriotic blasts from a small band of conservative legislators. In a throwback to the most divisive days of the Vietnam War, they have impugned the loyalty of dissenters and journalists who raise questions about the Bush Administration's

During the debate on granting the President authority to use force against Iraq, Gerald B.H. Solomon, the ranking Republican on the House Rules Committee, lambasted antiwar protesters. They are, Solomon intoned, "unshaven, shageyhaired, drug-culture poor excuses for Americans," Then Solomon aimed his rhetorical blunderbuss at Bryant Gumbel, of NBC's Today show, who had expressed surprise at polls showing that most Americans felt the government was telling the press all they needed to know about the war. Quoth Solomon: "Evidently, (Gumbel) can't bear the idea of an American victory He wants another American humiliation, another Vietnam.

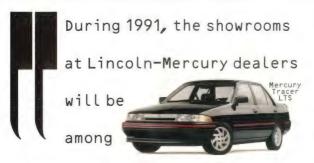
In a similar vein, Bob Dornan, a G.O.P. colleague from California, took a shot at CBS. He charged that "for Gunga Dan [Rather], the more radical the cause, the more airtime it receives." Taking aim at a different target, House minority whip Newt Gingrich last week blasted Speaker Tom Foley for appointing to the Intelligence Committee liberals "who don't believe in intelligence gathering."

Of the jingoistic broadsides so far, the ugliest was issued last week by Wyoming Republican Alan Simpson, who erupted over CNN's reporting from Baghdad. Not content to raise legitimate questions about the network's airing of censored material. Simpson, citing an anonymous source, accused CNN correspondent Peter Arnett of being an Iraqi "sympathizer." What evidence did the Senator have, other than the fact that Arnett is the only correspondent for an American news organization reporting continuously from Baghdad since the war began, albeit under the acknowledged control and censorship of the Iraqi government? Well, said Simpson, in a befuddled attempt to establish guilt by association. Arnett "is married to a Vietnamese whose brother was active in the Viet Cong

In fact, the New Zealand-born Arnett and his wife have been separated for years. And although some friends and family members differ about the alleged Viet Cong connections of Arnett's in-laws, the issue is beside the point. Asked to explain the relevance of his remarks, an unrepentant Simpson would say only that such information is often revealed about public officials, rarely about journalists. Arnett, he added, "is being coddled by an enemy government."

Journalists should not be immune to criticism. But neither they nor anyone else should be the target of gratuitous, unfounded attacks on their loyalty and integrity. Whether or not Simpson and the other Capitol Hill fire breathers realize it. that was one of the lessons of the Vietnam War

- By Stanley W. Cloud. With reporting by Hays Gorey/Washi

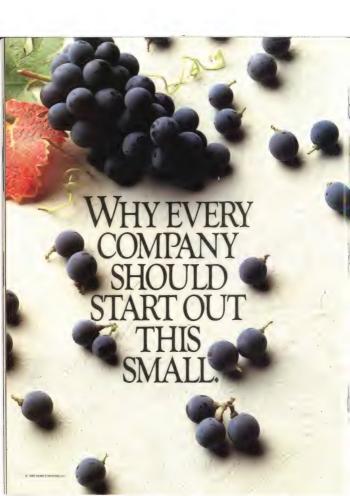


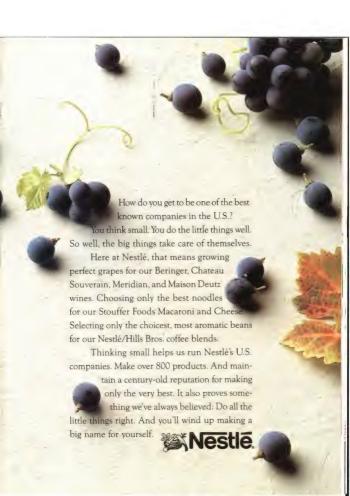
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### Jumping Out of the Pool

A growing number of reporters are circumventing military restrictions in hopes of getting a better picture of the war

#### By RICHARD ZOGLIN



Carl Nolte, a reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle, spent his first few days in Saudi Arabia wandering around Dhahran's International Hotel, mostly readoled reports from his peers. Then he

moved to Riyadh, where he sat in on military briefings. Finally, exasperated, he climbed into his rented Chevrolet Caprice and simply headed north. He got lost sev-

eral times on the poorly marked roads but eventually hooked up with U.S. troops, who complained to him about everything from inadequate supplies to late paychecks. Nolte duly sent the news home. "If you sit around waiting for the scraps to be fed to you," he says, "you're going to get the kind of things a dog gets: leftovers. Military officials refer

to Nolte and his roving confreres as unilaterals. Reporters prefer to call them free-lancers. More bluntly, they are pool busters; reporters who are circumventing the superintended pool system imposed by the military to limit the number of journalists venturing into the Middle East battlefield. In the grand tradition of buccaneering war correspondents, these reporters

are taking risks to give audiences a fuller picture of what is happening in the gulf.

Journalists in Saudi Arabia have been griping about the pool system since before the war started. One fear was that military censors, who screen pool dispatches, would purge any material deemed unfavorable to the military. Despite a few incidents of tampering, that has not happened. But editors and reporters have a more basic objection: the news emerging from the pools is too limited, and often too late, to be of use in the competitive climate

The battle for Khafii was a case in point. Though pool reporters were stationed with the 1st U.S. Marine Division outside the Saudi city, they were not allowed into the town until 18 hours after fighting started between Iraqi armor and coalition forces. Early accounts of the bat-

tle came mostly from reporters operating on their own. One of them, John King of the Associated Press, sneaked into the city on the first night of fighting and watched as Arab troops tried to retake the town. "The pools did not get an accurate view fof the battle | because they didn't see it," says King, "They wrote that the Saudi and Oatari liberated the city, but they had no realistic view of how long it took, what happened or how many Iragis were in there." The best footage of the battle came from two French TV crews and a team from

In the field: a French TV crew interviews members of a helicopter combat unit

Britain's Visnews, which were in Khafji well before U.S. pool cameramen. (Little of this was seen on American TV.)

Free-lancing reporters have scored many other coups. Some of the first shots of the mammoth Iraqi-instigated oil slick came from a British ITN crew fully two days before pool footage arrived. A group of nonpool journalists driving near the Iraq-Saudi border last week got a scoop when four hungry Iraqi army deserters approached them and surrendered. Complaints about the pool reports have been growing. "Why didn't we get the oil spill? Why wasn't a pool on the [battleship] Missouri when it fired its guns?" asks Thomas Giusto of ABC, who is coordinating pool coverage for the four U.S. networks. pools have not been granted access to things when they are happening.

Military officials continue to claim that the pool system is the best way to protect allied forces from being overwhelmed by reporters and to safeguard the journalists. The disappearance of CBS correspondent Bob Simon and his three-man crew, whose vehicle was found abandoned near the Kuwaiti border almost three weeks ago, weighs heavily on journalists, but it has not dampened their desire to do more independent reporting. "The last thing Bob Simon would want," says the A.P.'s King, "is for us to stop covering the war because he disappeared."

Though there are no formal penalties\* for violating the rules, U.S. military officials have reported offenders to the Saudis, who have temporarily revoked some press credentials. For that reason, editors are reluctant to admit that they are encouraging reporters to break the pool re-

strictions. But it is clear that the practice is at least tacitly condoned. Robert Rosenthal, foreign editor of the Philadelphia Inquirer, says he tells his gulf reporters to "use your initiative to do what you can safely."

Though pool busting appears to be on the rise, it is by no means always successful. Two A.P. reporters who showed up uninvited last week at the U.S. 24th Mechanized Infantry Division were detained for three hours and then sent back to Dhahran. A French TV crew that arrived on the outskirts of Khafji during the fighting was greeted by angry shouts from attending pool reporters. According to producer Alain Debos, the

crew was forced at gunpoint by Marines to give up videotape it

had shot of a wounded U.S. soldier Some correspondents argue that the tight military restrictions add to the dangers they face. To skirt the rules, many are disguising themselves as military personnel, thus increasing the chances of being mistaken for combatants by the Iragis. But even obeying the regulations can be hazardous. After pool reporter Douglas Jehl of the Los Angeles Times reported 50 U.S. military vehicles were missing, officials complained that his story, which had been cleared by censors, was contrary to the "best interests" of the military. They ordered him to leave the pool. Incidents like that will not make reporters any more eager to play by the steadily fraving rules. - Benerted by Lara Mariowe and Dick Thompson/Dhahran

# **The Energy Mess**

In the new plan the White House is about to unveil, Bush offers half a loaf: a boost for domestic oil drilling, short shrift for conservation

#### By RICHARD LACAYO

ome lessons are hard to learn. Three times in the past two decades, the U.S. has been burned by its unbridled appetite for energy and its dependence on foreign oil. First came the OPEC embargo in response to the Arab-Israeli war of 1973. Iran administered the second oil shock six years later. Both episodes produced some national hand-wringing and a spate of conservation measures that cut imports in half between 1977, their peak year, and 1985. But when world oil prices collapsed in 1986, the nation's per capita oil consumption began to climb again, the fuel efficiency of American cars slid downward, and oil imports returned to the levels of the 1970s

Now comes the bill for that profligacy. U.S. troops are fighting a war spurred at least partly by fear that Saddam Hussein's seizure of Kuwait would give him decisive control over the Middle East's oil. With the real cost of energy dependency-in both through 22,000 pages of written comments

dollars and lives-more apparent than ever, 1 Americans may at last be receptive to a durable energy plan. And George Bush is prepared to lead them to it, but only halfway.

Next week the President is expected to unveil a national energy policy that will favor increased use of natural gas and nuclear power and stepped-up oil explorationincluding a controversial proposal to drill in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. But the plan is almost certain to ignore any significant steps to promote conservation. Most notably, although automobiles, buses and trucks account for two-thirds of U.S. oil use, the program is expected to shun the two most effective means to put the brakes on fuel consumption: a hike in the gas tax and a higher federal fuel-efficiency standard for U.S. autos.

Nearly two years have passed since Bush asked Energy Secretary James Watkins to shape a plan. Watkins, former head of Ronald Reagan's commission on AIDS, conducted 18 public hearings and waded from individuals and organizations. From these, he culled dozens of proposals, which he forwarded late last year to the White House's Economic Policy Council, where many of them were handled like incoming Scuds, shot down quickly before they could have any impact.

The big gunners were three White House aides: Budget Director Richard Darman. White House chief of staff John Sununu and Michael Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. The troika treated most measures that would compel conservation as unwarranted government interference in the free market. "Watkins' proposals just got blasted by Sununu, Darman and Boskin," says a White House official. "They just tore them apart."

The plan the President will make public preserves mostly those Energy Department suggestions that suit the Administration's step-on-the-gas philosophy. The most controversial by far will be a call for Congress to permit oil exploration in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, an ecologically sensitive

The plan will make no mention of the two most effective measures to reduce gas consumption: higher taxes at the pump and a federally mandated increase in the fuel efficiency of new cars.

The White House wants to open up 1.5 million acres of the 19 millionacre Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling, a prospect that enrages environmentalists. The plan may also call for an examination of potential offshore drilling sites.





area that has been closed to drilling since it was established in 1960. Environmental groups, fearing irreversible damage to the ecosystem, are promising to fight that proposal with an all-out campaign that could turn into this year's version of the bitter Robert Bork confirmation battle, "We'll fight to the end," says Sierra Club spokesman Marty Hayden. "There's no compromise on ANWR.

The White House plan is also expected to include proposals to streamline the licensing of natural-gas pipelines and nuclear plants. One idea is to decrease the number of public hearings required before a license is granted. In another boost to the nation's moribund nuclear-power industry-one that is sure to raise the hackles of antinuclear activists and state lawmakers-the plan proposes to cut states out of the approval process when selecting sites for storing nuclear waste.

At most, alternative-energy sources will be given only modest gestures of support, including extension of tax incentives for solar and geothermal-energy investments. The conservation measures that survived the White House triage are even more modest. Most likely to be included are tax breaks for builders of energy-efficient homes and office buildings and energy-efficiency labeling requirements for products.

Even many Administration officials concede that any serious effort to cut oil consumption would have to be built around an increased gas tax. But the President, a former Texas oilman, won't hear of it. The White House fears that higher gas prices could put downward pressure on an economy already in recession. Bush is also mindful of the potential cost to his popularity. He remembers all too vividly how his standing in the polls plunged during the

federal budget fight last autumn, when he mishandled the budget deal that resulted in a nickel-a-gallon gas-tax increase.

Congressional Democrats are blaming Bush for a failure of leadership, "The President could call for a 10¢- or 15¢-per-gal. tax on gasoline, and the American people would back him all the way," says Michigan Democrat John Dingell, chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee. "He could call it a tax to support our war effort, and it would rally the nation."

ut given American resistance to new taxes, Democrats may simply be asking the President to walk the plank ahead of them. Republican pollster Robert Teeter has provided the White House with data showing that a gas tax is especially unpopular with so-called Reagan Democrats, the blue-collar swing voters whom Bush needs for re-election in 1992, "Cheap fuel is part of our standard of living," says oil expert Robert Bradley of the Cato Institute, a Washington-based think tank. "You can force Americans to drive small, unsafe cars, pay \$5 per gallon for gas, and force the poor to abandon their automobiles. But Americans don't want that.

Legislative strategy is another reason why conservation measures were neglected in the plan. The President's proposals are merely a first move in what is sure to be a lengthy tug-of-war with Congress. Sununu and Darman were concerned that the opening bid not be too generous. That's the mistake they feel Bush made in his initial version of last year's Clean Air Act. which gave Congress the chance to make the law significantly tougher and more expensive during a year of negotiations.

The counterbids are already appearing in Congress, where two dozen energy-related bills are circulating, including several that would require higher fuel-efficiency levels. One that was introduced in the Senate last week by Nevada Democrat Richard Bryan and Washington Republican Slade Gorton would oblige U.S. automakers to increase the current 27.5-m.p.g. average fuel-efficiency standard to 34 m.p.g. within five years and to 44 m.p.g. within a decade. Supporters are confident they have the votes to win. A similar measure was defeated in the Senate last

Predicting the final shape of an energy plan is tricky. Energy politics don't divide along party lines. When the time comes to vote, liberal Democrats from oil-patch states, like Oklahoma Congressman Mike Synar, tend to line up with the petroleum industry. Detroit Democrats like Congressman Dingell back away from fuel-efficiency standards that are opposed by hometown automakers. And defenders of the environment can still turn up on both sides of the aisle. On Aug. 4, two days after the invasion of Kuwait, the House voted 281 to 82 effectively to ban for one year any drilling for natural gas along North Carolina's Outer Banks, one of the nation's largest untapped energy reserves.

Any effective national energy plan must contain two strands; increased domestic energy production and more efficient consumption. The President is tugging at the production strand. Congress appears to be groping toward the other. The question is whether they can weave them together and give the country the leadership it urgently needs on this vital issue. - Reported by Jerome Cramer and Michael Duffy/Washington

Look for a controversial simplification of the process for licensing nuclear power plants. At present, one public hearing is required before a plant can be built, and another before it can begin operation The White House wants to eliminate the second hearing.

#### NUCLEAR POWER

## ALTERNATIVE SOURCES

Expect stingy support for the development of substitutes for coal, oil and nuclear power. One possibility: continuing tax incentives for solarand geothermal-energy investments - but only after a project actually produces energy, not, as now, in the start-up phase.





#### Time for Tough Choices

The White House presents a sober-minded budget that could shrink the deficit and end the annual bidding war

#### By MICHAEL DUFFY

Desidte his sometimes shirty demeanor, Richard Darman, George Bossivhodger: George Bossivhodger and George Bossivhodger and George Bossivman After all, a knuck for cutting up gosnaturally with help deple last year when Bushsaked for the impossible—a budget that lowered the deficit without ratings tuses— Darman responded with a 15-page cssay compared to the control of the control of the response of the control of the control of the conket books that were expected of him, humor was Darman Sebst defense.

This year silly stratagems have been set aside. Darman's budget for 1992 is a more sober reflection of the nation's fiscal health than most budgets of the past decade. Its economic assumptions, with some excep-

tions, are unusually flinty cyed. Its priorities, if not always laudable, are clear. And for Bush and Darman, both of whom were wounded in last fall's budget fight, it is a smooth political recovery act that last week met with generally favorable reviews from both right and left.

The main reason for the new candor is last year's much maligned budget agreement, which sets firm caps on discretionary spending for the next five years and prevents meddling with all but the details of federal programs. The new rules render preposterous budgets unnecessary and encourage negotiators to make hard choices. When total spending levels are fixed, there is little point in inflating revenue estimates through rosy economic assumptions. Moreover, the caps will force both parties to make spending decisions carefully. Democrats who want to spend more on. say, housing must carve the money from another program. This programmatic triage alone should help shrink the deficit. As Bush said in his State of the Union speech, "Future spending debates will mean a battle of ideas, not a bidding war."

Huppily, the new rules make a repeat of last year's bloody budget summit unlikely. Both parties new largely agree that despite the gall war, defense spending should continue to decline: that domestic spending should continue to decline: that domestic spending should rost only with inflation: and that mandatory entitlement programs are still too secreosance for deep reductions. All that's left to debate is how much should go to individual discretionary programs. Explains that is the summit of much years in activities of "The aimount of muney spent is set, so what it comes down to is a question of priorities."

The most intriguing element in the budget is Darman's romance with means testing. By reducing federal handouts for middle- and upperincome Americans, Darman hopes to begin to wean them from their expensive-and subsidized-life-styles. Farmers who make more than \$125,000 a year in outside income will be ineligible for federal commodity subsidies. The monthly Medicare premium of \$31.80 will be tripled for seniors whose adjusted incomes exceed \$125,000. Darman said the five new means tests, which would save \$200 million next year and \$3,7 billion through 1995, are a first

step toward "a better focus on the poor." In fact, the Administration's fliritation with means testing is as political as it is fiseal. Having badly mishandled the "fairness

issue" last year, Bush is asking the rich to make some small sacrifices to defuse the issue as he nears re-election. Besides, the White House knows that many Democrats will reflexively balk at the idea of asking seniors (or parents of kids who get but don't need subsidized school lunches) to pay more. House budget chairman Leon Panetta. a California Democrat, seemed to stumble into this trap last week when he warned Darman that the elderly will "raise helf" if the Medicare proposals stand. In political terms, it doesn't really matter whether the means tests find their way into law; for Bush and Darman, the readi-

The budget is an attempt to mollify the restive right, whose members are still steamed about the way Bush orphaned his "no new taxes" pledge last year. Darman met nearly a dozen times in recent weeks with

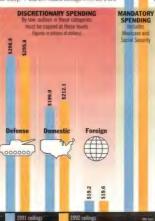
ness to propose them is all that

counts

House Republicans and included in the budget a number of items-enterprise zones, incentives for tenant ownership of public housing-that are dear to conservative hearts. But Administration officials admit privately that some of these. such as Bush's inevitable pitch for lower capital-gains taxes, are included simply to keep the right quiet. Said a senior Administration official: "We're trying to fool them as long as we can."

Both Republican and Democratic experts agree that the new budget rules should lead to a lower deficit in a few years. But they add that unexpected costs, like those from the gulf war and the thrift bailout, could again postpone that day indefinitev. Last week Bush told several thousand businessmen and -women in New York City that the deficit would be "virtually eliminated by 1995." The audience reaction was a mix of scattered applause and derisive laughter. As one of Bush's predecessors put it, you can't fool all of the people all the -With reporting by

Nancy Traver/Washington





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### **Unshackling the Troubled Banks**

A sweeping reform plan would give big lenders new competitive muscle but is sure to face a fierce fight in Congress

#### By JOHN GREENWALD

t was the most heartening news that America's troubled big banks have had in years. In a bid to strengthen the flagging industry. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady last week urged Congress to sweep away laws that have limited bank activities since the Great Depression. Under his proposed reforms, banking companies could easily expand across state lines and become financial supermarkets that offer everything from stocks and bonds to life insurance. Treasury said the plan would also seek to shield taxpayers from any replay of the savings and loan fiasco. "If we expect to exert world economic leadership in the 21st century, Brady said, "we must have a modern, world-class financial-services system in the U.S.

Major banks had long sought a plan like this one to help extricate them from their current crisis. Many banks spent the 1980s chasing long-odds business, such as loans to Third World countries and commercial real estate developers, after their best corporate customers began to borrow more cheaply in money markets. With many of those new customers now in trouble, the banks face more bad debts than ever before. Meanwhile aggressive foreign lenders in Japan and elsewhere, which operate under fewer restrictions, swiftly outpaced their American rivals While nine U.S. banks were among the world's 30 largest in 1969, only Manhattan-based Citibank made Fund is dangerously lov the list in 1989. And it plunged from No. 3 (behind Bank of Amer

ica and Chase Manhattan) to No. 27. Critics doubt the wisdom of unleashing U.S. banks to expand into new areas. "This is the same eart-before-the-horse mentality that plagued the deregulation of the savings and loan industry," charged Henry Gonzalez, a Texas Democrat who chairs the House banking committee. "Let's set the speed limits and train the policemen before we open a new superexpressway for financial institutions."

The most bitterly contested part of the Treasury plan would let banks enter new fields that may be unrelated to financial services. Strong banking companies would



Brady calls for a "world-class financial-services syste

#### **BLUEPRINT FOR RENEWAL**

#### PROBLEM

Profits are dwindling at many large U.S. banks, which are falling behind foreign rivals in world

Deposit insurance has become too risky for the Federal Government

The Bank Insurance

PROPOSAL

Expand services banks can offer, Improve efficiency by permitting branches nationwide Let strong nonfinancial firms, such as industrial companies,

Restrict coverage to two accounts of \$100,000 a depositor per bank. Eliminate coverage of big institutions' deposits. Make weaker banks pay higher insurance premiums.

Assign just one regulatory body to supervise all nationally chartered banking firms and another for all state-chartered firms.

Replenish it with money from the banking industry through a yet-to-be-developed plan.

be permitted to affiliate with anyone from Merrill Lynch to McDonald's. So-called fire walls would prevent banks from risking federally insured deposits in the new ventures. The plan would also let banks create nationwide networks of branches within three years under a law that would replace the current crazy-quilt pattern of state

rules that govern interstate banking. Brady was clearly mindful of the S&L mess when he put forth his proposals. To avoid taxpayers' having to bail out failed banks, the plan would limit depositors to a total of \$200,000 of federal insurance per bank. That would include \$100,000 in checking and savings accounts and \$100,000 in retirement accounts

Bank customers who wanted to beat the \$200,000 ceiling would have to open accounts in several banks. That's just what the Treasury would like, since the rule would dissuade depositors from piling into

a struggling institution that was offering impossibly high interest rates in a desperate bid for customers-as often happened in Texas in the '80s. But the Treasury opened a wide loophole by failing to junk its too-big-to-fail doctrine. Under that policy, which is intended to prevent runs on deposits at large institutions, the government makes good on the entire account-no matter how sizablethat a major depositor holds in u large bank. That particularly worries small-town bankers, who fear customers may flee to larger rivals.

The Treasury remained silent on the most pressing issue confronting banks: how to replenish the nearly broke Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation fund. which insures accounts. The beleaguered fund sank to a record low \$8.5 billion after 169 banks failed last year. Without fresh cash, it could go bust by the end of 1991 if the current recession lasts all year. The Treasury left the details of rescuing the fund up to the FDIC and the banking industry, FDIC Chairman William Seidman later said that to rescue the fund, the agency might raise banks' insurance premiums 20% to 30% as of June 30 to pay interest on government borrowings of up to \$15 billion.

Does the Treasury's reform program stand a chance in Congress? Experts say that limiting deposit-insurance coverage has the brightest prospects in the wake of the S&L bailout. Lawmakers may also look favorably on letting banks expand geographically. The odds are probably longest against permitting banks to diversify into new businesses.

Even if the program passed intact, it would hardly end the troubles of big banks overburdened with poor loans, "There is no magic solution that will fix the banks' problems," says Lawrence White, a New York University economist, "The banks made a whole lot of bad loans, and nothing is going to solve that over the short run. The long run is another matter. While the ambitious plan is certain to stir furious debate, the flexibility it promises just might yield a more profitable and competitive U.S. banking system in the next century. - Reported by Gisela Bolte/Washington

## "It's A Slap of Reality"

As draconian funding cuts kick in, mass layoffs shake California's legislature and reduce Willie Brown to tears

n the day that more than 600 legislative staffers lost their jobs, Speaker Willie Brown ascended the rostrum of the ornate, walnut-and-velvet California state assembly chamber and, with a trembling of his smartly tailored shoulders, broke down and wept. Veteran assemblymen who have known him for 25 years as a tough-minded political chieftain were amazed, "It's a

tragedy that we have to let these people go," Brown sobbed, "This place will not be the same.

California's voters set the cuts in motion last November by narrowly passing Proposition 140, a ballot initiative that hit legislators with a double whammy: it not only decreed maximum terms of six years for assemblymen and eight for senators, but more immediately ordered a cut of nearly 40% in the \$190 million legislative operating budget. Last week, as a wave of mass layoffs was announced, the senate shed 200 of its nearly 1,000 employees, and the assembly dropped 440 of its staff of 1,500. Gone, along with clerks and secretaries, were some 300 policy experts; 15 subcommittees were disbanded

Speaker Brown, who had led a \$5 million campaign against the ballot initiative, was forced to apply the lion's share of the cutbacks. "It's a crippling blow," mouned Speaker Brown comforts a victim of Proposition 140

Brown. Without the experts, for example, legislators were not responding promptly to the budget recently proposed by the new Governor, Republican Pete Wilson, "We don't have the analytical ability," said Brown. "We don't have the talent back

there able to do the job." Brown's Democrats, who control both ouses, predict other dire consequences: a

brain drain that is bound to deter the best and brightest from working in the statehouse, and a weakening of the legislature as it confronts some of its own ex-staffers now in the ranks of special-interest lobbies. One surviving expert, respected Democratic economist Steven Thompson, 49, predicts that when the term limits start taking effect in 1996, the legislative branch could even suffer constitutionally. Reason: the inexperience of rotating members will prevent it from holding up its end of the checks-and-balances system. So vehement was the protest among the majority of political regulars that last month the rules committees of both houses voted to chal-

lenge Proposition 140 with a lawsuit. But not everybody was unhappy with the cuts. Their most gratified supporter was the author of Proposition 140, Pete Schabarum, 62, a crusty member of the Los Angeles county board of supervisors and former state assemblyman who is now campaigning to extend the term-limit stricture to the state's Senators and 45 Congressmen and to elected bodies in all 58 counties.

A tiny minority-six Republicans out of a total of 120 legislators-also supports Proposition 140. Conservative Tom McClintock, 34, sees the budget cuts as a chance to unload "political hacks who have been parked on the legislators' payrolls," Says Robert Forsythe, 50, a surviving senate aide: "Let's face it-the cuts have come as a special shock because this place has felt itself to be encased in glass and somehow protected from the layoffs and cutbacks so many people have been feeling around the country. It's a slap of reality."

#### Scandal in Phoenix

Seven Arizona lawmakers are indicted in a bribery scam

rizona has an image problem. Almost A three years ago, Governor Evan Mecham was impeached for misusing state funds. Last November voters turned down a referendum to make Martin Luther King Day a paid state holiday, touching off boycotts that may deprive Arizona of the 1993 Super Bowl, Last week a major political scandal rocked the state as a grand jury charged seven legislators, five lobbyists and five others with felonies including bribery, money laundering and filing false campaign statements.

The product of a 16-month, \$1.4 million investigation by the Phoenix police

and the Maricopa County attorney's office, the indictment charged the accused with accepting \$370,000 from an undercover agent posing as a Las Vegas "gaming consultant" building support for casino gambling. Police say the sting began as an investigation of an illegal gambling network that had attracted the interest of organized crime. "We didn't know at the time how earth shattering it would be," said Phoenix Police Chief Ruben Ortega, "until the evidence began to grow."

Arizona thus became the fifth state in recent months to be tainted by a legislative corruption scandal. In South Carolina, 10 legislators have been indicted in a voteselling scheme. In California two former state senators were convicted on corruption charges last year. Gib Lewis, speaker of the Texas House, has been accused of soliciting and not reporting a gift. In New York, Assembly Speaker Mel Miller has pleaded innocent to charges that he was involved in an alleged real estate scam

At the center of Arizona's sting opera-

tion-quickly dubbed Azscam-was a flamboyant Las Vegan who called himself J. Anthony Vincent. According to the indictment, Vincent assuaged the legislators' fears about hidden cameras and once reportedly stripped in front of a lobbyist to show he wasn't concealing a microphone. In fact, Vincent was an undercover agent named Joseph C. Stedino. Ortega says that 95% of the evidence comes from audioand videotapes. In one police videotape, state representative Don Kenney, who faces 28 counts, is seen stuffing \$55,000 in cash into a gym bag and joking about cameras being in the room.

Some of the accused have charged the police with grandstanding and entrapment. Says Sue Laybe, a legislator who has been charged with taking \$24,960 in bribes: "Neither I nor any of my co-defendants had any intention or predisposition to take illegal contributions. It is shocking that hundreds of thousands of dollars of city money would be spent trying to entrap honest politicians." Shocking indeed.

#### American Notes



MICHIGAN

#### The Return of Dr. Death

Jack Kevorkian-a.k.a. Dr. Death-may be back in business. Kevorkian, 62, a retired Michigan pathologist, gained national notoriety last year when he used his home-built suicide machine to help Alzheimer's patient Janet Adkins kill herself. Last week, two days after Oakland County Circuit Judge Alice Gilbert issued a court injunction barring Kevorkian from using the suicide machine, he announced that he had counseled a dentist with cancer who was (and likely still is) contemplating using a similar machine of his own. Said Kevorkian: "I'm just testing the limits of the injunction

Kevorkian vowed that he would use his machine again "under the correct circumstances." If he does, there may be little his opponents can do about it: murder charges brought against him for Mrs. Adkins' suicide were dismissed last December in part because Michigan has no law against physician-assisted suicide.

#### **Just Dving** For a Fix

What seemed like ordinary bags of heroin hit the bazaars of the South Bronx early this month. Dubbed "Tango & Cash," the product sold for \$10 a bag. By the end of last week, the drug had killed six people in New York, seven in New Jersey and two in Connecticut; 213 overdosed addicts wound up in emergency rooms. Preliminary tests indicate that the drug is fentanyl, a tranquilizer described as "150 to 6,000 times more potent than morphine."

Police took extraordinary steps to warn addicts, cruising blighted neighborhoods in squad cars. "If you have used this drug," they announced over their loudspeakers, "seek

ly!" Ironically, these efforts may have led addicts to crave it all the more. "Hard-core users ask how they could get hold of it. They figure those who died made a mistake," says Christopher Policano, a spokesman at Phoenix House, a drug rehabilitation center



legedly murdered seven men in Florida between December 1989 and November 1990, Now, thanks to an enterprising movie producer, Wuornos' life story may be the next movie-of-the-

Wuornos, 34, is a drifter who lists her occupation as "professional call girl." According to police. Wuornos has admitted killing the seven men; one she shot six times, including a coup de grace in the head "to put him out of his misery." The police arrested her Jan. 9, but even before she was charged. Wuornos had signed a movie deal with California producer Jackelyn Giroux. "She's delightful," says Giroux. "Basically, from age three, she had been abused by everyone in her life. If one child can be saved by having another child's story told, it's worth it."



Ultimate high: 15 dead

#### Shotgun Weddings?

WISCONSIN

Wisconsin Governor Tommy G. Thompson is no stranger to the carrot-and-stick approach to welfare: one state program withholds benefits from families whose kids cut class, another docks benefits from some recipients who don't work or get job training. But his Parental and Family Responsibility Initiative, a scheme linking welfare benefits to marriage and birth control, may be his

most controversial idea yet. Thompson wants to cap funds for unmarried mothers at \$440 a month, the current limit for a single woman with one child. Benefits would not increase if the woman has additional children-unless she gets married. "It sounds like a statesponsored shotgun wedding," one critic said, "The state has no business dictating who should get married or how many children they should have," said Margaret McMurray, a spokeswoman for the National Organization for Women. "This is Big Brotherism."

ESPIONAGE

#### Oversexed and Underpaid

It took almost seven years and three trials, but in Los Angeles last week, Richard Miller, 54. was sentenced to 20 years in prison, thus becoming the only FBI agent ever convicted of spy-

FBI was shocked. It shouldn't But this is a thriller that owes more to Peter Sellers than to John le Carré. In 1984, when the bumbling 250-lb. Miller was arrested after having an affair with a Soviet agent and giving

have been. On a \$50,000 salary, Miller was attempting to support a wife, eight children, a Los Angeles bungalow and a San Diego County farm. Miller's first trial ended centible qualities."

her a handbook on U.S. coun-

terintelligence techniques, the

with a hung jury, and the second was reversed. In the third. Judge Robert Takasugi convicted Miller of espionage. "Mr. Miller was totally out of control," said Takasugi. "I wonder why the agency allowed him to serve when it knew of his sus-

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By SCOTT MACLEOD JOHANNESBURG

e says to call him "Che Guevara." He lives in Zola; one of the ghette districts that make up the vast black township of Soweto, outside Johannesburg. At 22 he is a hardened veteran of the struggle against apartheid. He has killed "enemies of the people" and is prepared to kill again.

Seven years ago he became a supporter of the then outside African National Congress. With other teenagers he starred storing police vehicles. When leaders of the ilberation movement sought to make the toronthips ungovernable, he became the toronthips ungovernable, he became passing tent to municipal authorities in define of the rent broyecth, he would serve them with an eviction notice. "If they refused to go," he says, "we'd spack to them in the language of the struggle. We'd kill them and burn their house down."

There are millions of young men, some like Che, in South Africa, a country's lost generation. Nelson Mandela Inited Basel, votuli as the "Voung Lians," who took over as the shock troops of the revolution while heard other aging Basel keaders were locked away in prison. The "comrades," as they called themselves, buttled the stack security forces for control of the townships, rooted out informers and selutus, and spearheaded worker stag-aways and consumer boycotts, it would be a supported to the stage of the stag

Freedom has come for Mandela, and it may be nearing for all blacks who long to rule in their own land. But the youth are merging as aparthed/s saddest and potentially most dangerous legacy: a many as 5 million young people, from their cardy 8th down to perhaps the medical potentially most dangerous legacy; as many as 5 million young people, from their cardy 8th down to multic to get jobs and unprepared who are unable to get jobs and unprepared who are unable to get jobs and unprepared and an area of the people, from their cardy 8th down to make the people from their cardy 8th down to make the people from their cardy 8th down to make the people from the people fr

They are often murderous supporters of rival groups like the A.N.C., the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. What unites them is lives that have known little besides political conflict. When the day of liberation comes, what will they do?

They have learned all too well flow to imitate the violence of a state that has often used live ammunition on defenseless protesters and fired tear gas to disperse groups of small children. They have lived in a world, says the Rev. Frank Chikane, head of the South African Council of in a world, says the Rev. Frank Chikane, head of the South African Council of injuly raids, of routhlooks and body searches, where friends and parents get carried away in the middle of the night.

The fiery images of death have become part of their normal experience. Many of them, in the words of *Dnun* magazine editor Barney Cohen, are capable of killing at the drop of a match. They have developed a youth culture-of alienation and intolerance that may be more destructive, in its sheer scale, than anything seen in Beirut, Belfast or the Gaza Strip.



Apartheid, by robbing black community and family life of all authority and cohesion, is to blame. But so, to some extent, is the type of fight that blacks chose to wage against white oppression. For years parents have been standing back while their children moved to the front trenches of the

freedom struggle. The youth rebellion began on June 16, 1976, when the schoolchildren of Soweto, seething over the inferior instruction known as Bantu education, rose up in protest against the state's edict that their lessons must be learned in Afrikaans, the language of the ruling whites. The initial hattles left more than 400 dead, but the uprising was never completely quelled. In 1984 the comrades of the still simmering townships rebelled again, setting off a series of violent protests that killed more than 2,000 over the next two years and prompted the government to impose a state of emergency. The turmoil presented Pretoria with grave political problems, including the imposition of stronger international sanctions, which President



The antagonists: a Zulu youth, left, stands behind police razor wire isolating his dormitory in Soweto. Xhosa fighters, above, form defensive ranks after a Zulu attack in Tokoza.

F.W. de Klerk is still trying to solve. But the endless conflict also helped transform black children. As the youth population mushroomed, so did its power to do violence. Now there are 28.5 million blacks in the country, half of them under the age of 14, many of them with no notion of how to live in a peaceful world. Black parents are frustrated at their inability to get their children to return to school. "Liberation now; education later" became the slogan of the 1980s, but it only promises to make the 1990s that much harder.

Spending its days in the streets, the lost generation alarms many black community leaders as much as it does white government officials. Perhaps half the urban youth eschew political activism, preferring to loaf, play soccer, drink beer and shoot dice. Thousands upon thousands of others are tough political activists. They seem to roam the townships like so many deputy sheriffs, setting down the law of the street and enforcing it with harsh punishment.

Although the practice has died down recently, teenage judges presided over so-

called people's courts that almost casually handed out death sentences to suspected traitors. A youth invention that has not disappeared is "necklacing," the method of mob execution in which a gasoline-doused rubber tire is thrown around a suspected traitor's body and set ablaze.

"Chris," 26, has no interest in working and little time for politics. He is too busy stealing. He started with cars, moved on to breaking into houses in the affluent white suburbs and eventually to armed robbery.

He claims that he would never kill for money. But he admits that he has killed out of revenge. After burying a friend who had been murdered, he and a gang of comrades armed with pangas went after the youth they suspected of the killing. "We chopped him up," Chris says. "His head was over here. His hands were over there.

Black crime is soaring. Poverty has removed the stigma from stealing, and young people are no longer afraid of the police. Blacks have invented a name for the new youthful criminals: they are the comtsotsis, gangsters masquerading as political activists. In Soweto, which has 3 million residents, an epidemic of car thefts and armed holdups has left many people cowering in their homes after sunset. The township ranks among the murder capitals of the world: in 1989 Soweto reported 1,383 killings, compared with 1,900 in New York City and 434 in Washington. Gangs conduct classes for young boys

in the fine arts of car theft and burglary. They use Soviet-made AK-47 assault rifles to carry out bank robberies and payroll heists. Much of the crime

is vicious. A bunch of street toughs recently murdered an elderly New Zealand tourist and stole his wristwatch after he made a wrong turn and wound up in Soweto after dark. "This is because black people are suffering," a black burglar told a white Johannesburg man as he robbed his house and

raped a woman friend. The most worrisome trend is the readiness of young rival activists to kill each other. In the province of Natal alone, more than 4,000 people have died





The morning after a battle with the Zulus: two young survivors huddle outside what remains of their house in Tokoza.

since clashes crupted in 1986 between foldlowers of the Anc. and the Zulu-based Inkätha movement, headed by Chief Mangasathu Buthleetz. Instead of inspiring a new era of peace, Mandeli's return has seen the fighting spread to Sowton and other townships encircling Johannesburg. In 1990 is nearly 3,500 were killed in black communal violence, the worst year's tull in modern South African history.

Prince, 34, steered clear of politics to take advantage of economic opportunities opening up for blacks. He became a bank teller—until his world collapsed in 1983 when the bank was robbed by a group of his friends and police accused him of being the inside man.

After serving four years in priors in Firince it trying to huild a future finish family. But he is filled with resemment when he sees the start contrasts between black Alexandra township and the nearly white suburb of Sandton. "Even if you are blindfolded, you know you are in Alex by the smell," he says: "But get in you car, and in five minutes—look at the mansions, smell the flowers see the BMW and the overflowing grocery trolleys in the supermarkets. It can make you cry."

The dormant a.N.C. Youth League is being revived to bring the comrades under the movement's umbrella. The league's slogan—Fight! Produce! Learn!—echoes the mixed signals that A.N.C. leaders are sending to the youth. Mandela has been urging them to go back to school, but the A.N.C. still employs young students in boycotts that keep them in the streets.

Worse, the mass-action campaign includes attacks on black municipal councilors and black policemen—part of apartheid's

crumbling system—that encourage the perpetuation of black-against-black violence. In 1990 there were more than 400 recorded attacks on black councilors and policemen, resulting in at least 25 deaths. How will the young react when black politicians and police are representing a black government?

These militant strategies may keep youths motivated for the cause, but they do little to prepare them for a painful reality ahead. The "new South Africa," as Mandela and De Klerk both like to call it, may in many ways be as bad or worse than the old.

lucks will have the vote and a right to equal opportunity. The new political system will presumable be a democracy. The black middle class of entrepreneurs, lawyers and other professionals that has sprang up under apartheid will grow. There is a reasonable chance for racial harmony, since even the most militant blacks accept the right of whites to be fellow South African.

But the huge economic disparities between whites and halcs will continue for years. A majority of South Africa's blacks are desperately poor at least 7 million live in destitute squatter camps. They will see for dramatic improvements anytime ssoon. Black unemployment, as high as 44% in some areas, is unlikely to fall questly. The some areas, is unlikely to fall questly. The same areas is unlikely to fall questly. The Kane-Berman, houl of the, Ishamenburgbased South African Institute of Race Relations. There is every possibility that the werange person will be materially worse off

average person will be materially worse off than he is now." Such a future would be a profound shock to the lost generation. The comrades seem to take it for granted that they have

joyed by whites. They assume that once the A.N.C. controls the government, the benefits will start flowing to blacks.

But blacks lack the education and skills needed to expand the economy significantly in the short term. "There is absolutely no way that those expectations will be met," says Kehla Shubane, 32, a researcher at the University of Witwatersrand. Under optimal conditions, it could take South Africa between five and 10 years to begin making between five and 10 years to begin making socialist-oriented economic proposals—popular with the lost generation—would only postsone material improvement.

Because the black leadership is a farial to alienate them, the resulessyouth may exert a baleful influence over the negotiations for South Affreis' future political and economic system. "The youth support us because we speak their language—housing, education, jobs," says Jackie Selebi, and member of the Anc.'s hattonial executive committee. "As soon as we stop demanding that, we will run into trouble."

This is exactly the kind of talk that makes whites insist on some kind of veto power under a new system. The existence of so many uneducated and unemployed blacks, says government negotiator Stoffel van der Merwe, "makes it more important to have a constitution in which the power of the majority is very definitely subject to checks and balances."

One way or another, the next generation of blacks can expect to win control of their lives. That will be a great day in South Africa. But no new political system—at least in the near future—will be able to fulfill the hopes of the generation that has already been lost. —With reporting by Poter Hawthorns/Cape Town

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SOVIET UNION

## The Empire Strikes Back

On the ropes for months, the Communist Party rebounds with a fighting message: Save Marxism and the Union at any cost

#### By JAMES WALSH

N ikita Khrushchev once scoffed that his country would ditch communism when "a shrimp learns to whistle." Much of the world thought it heard that unlikely music last March when Soviet legislators amended the constitution to abolish the Communist Party's guaranteed monopoly

on political power. Four months later, establishment baiter Boris Yeltsin shocked a party congress by staging a dramatic walkout, leading an exodus of some 2 million disaffected members. But Khrushchev's miracle may not have been quite enough. By last week, it had become clear that die-hard disciples of Marx and Lenin were determined to regain the national whip hand, come what may.

If any doubt remained that orthodoxy was fighting back, it was dispelled by the views aired at an angry Jan. 31 party plenum. Speeches by Central Committee members roundly knocked perestroika as a policy gone astray, attacked freedom of the press and condemned the Kremlin leadership's abandonment of Marxist principles in favor of "bourgeois morality." These Communists made it plain they were not about to give way to a multiparty system. The entire tone of the gathering suggested a council of war, and there were no recorded disagreements by Mikhail Gorbachev. A few days later, the Soviet President took to the airwaves to deliver a surprise national ad-

dress. Visibly distraught, with his lips trembling at times, Gorbachev pleaded for a show of unity in the face of separatist movements and political dissension. "The Soviet Union is a superpower," he said. "Huge efforts were expended to make it so powerful, and we could lose it very quickly.'

The televised appeal had a particular aim: get voters to endorse the Kremlin's new Union Treaty binding the 15 Soviet republics together. Four republics-Lithuania, Estonia, Georgia and Armeniahave vowed not to take part in the scheduled March 17 referendum, while Latvia was leaning toward boycotting it. But Gorbachev's message also carried the kind of rally-round-the-flag overtones sounded by resurgent Communist hardliners. Should he fail to re-create the Union with popular consent, he will be

the party a potent appeal. One notable scold on the scene last week was Marshall Sergei Akhromeyey. Gorbachey's chief

pressed by the reactionaries to resort to force-or move aside Preservation of the empire has given

#### THE WORLD ACCORDING TO POLOZKOV

Unreconstructed Marxists like Russian Communist Party leader Ivan Polozkov are rising in influence. He told the plenum:

- It is clear that perestroika reforms
- have failed. We have no multiparty system
- to speak of.
- We also do not have glasnost. The party did not realize it was going astray from its historical destiny.

military adviser, who blasted fast-track reformers for aligning themselves with antisocialist and separatist forces. His theme-"Will we lose our homeland?"recalled Joseph Stalin's "Great Patriotic War" strategy of wrapping communism in the banner of saving the motherland from Nazi Germany. Akhromeyev wondered if the Soviet Union would now be "dismembered into pieces" subject to the "humiliation" of "dependence on Western governments."

After Gorbachev's accession to power, doctrinaire communism went into a sixyear tailspin. But the turmoil of recent months has given the cause fresh life. Many of the party's new vanguard deny they want to turn back the clock, and yet the Kremlin has begun targeting for investigation prominent private businessman Artyom Tarasov, a self-made Moscow

Market economics and the profit motive, linchpins of perestroika, remain deeply suspect. A U.S. State Department official recalled a visit to America last year by Yegor Ligachev, the Kremlin's former chief ideologist. While touring a grocery store, the apostle of Marxism could not believe that the manager himself set prices. "They think that kind of price setting is corruption, the equivalent of organized crime. said the official. He believes that Gorbachev "doesn't understand the free market now any better than he did five years ago."

In the plenum, Ivan Polozkov, the Russian party leader, inveighed against efforts to "establish the dictatorship of private capital" and called for a return to the class

struggle

Such recrudescence of thought stems in part from the large-scale defections from the party by liberals like Yeltsin and Leningrad Mayor Anatoli Sobchak. Many other leading reformers have quit, leaving behind a 17 million-strong hardcore party that controls vast amounts of property as well as the loyalties of factory apparatchiks and military officers. It now seems bent on aborting multiparty democracy and decentralized economic management. Says Robert Legvold, a Columbia University Kremlin watcher: "They don't feel they're on the run any longer."

The biggest target-and the emotional underpinning to the party's resurgence-remains Soviet secession movements. Although Lithuanians voted last weekend heavily in favor of independence, Gorbachev proclaimed the plebiscite invalid in advance. In turn, Sobehak said

Gorbachev's March 17 referendum should be seen as a vote of confidence in the President. If the referendum fails to pass, the Leningrad mayor suggested, Gorbachev "would be obliged to step down,

Some Communists already seem prepared for that eventuality. In a loose alliance with Russian nationalists, they agree with people like Alexander Prokhanov, an ideologue of chauvinism, that the nation has an authoritarian manifest destiny. "The people have grown tired of parliaments, and the parliaments themselves are tired," Prokhanov says. "Gorbachev will have to unplug the way for the party, which he himself plugged, or the party will unplug Gorbachev." -Reported by James Carney/ Moscow and J.F.O. McAllister/Washington

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#### **World Notes**



The van from which the mortars were launched bursts into flame:

BRITAII

#### A Stab at The Heart

Prime Minister John Major had just convened a morning meeting of his gulf war cabinet at 10 Downing Street, when the room was rocked by an explosion that shattered the windows and sent some of the ministers scrambling under the table. Said Major with admirable sangfroid: "We had better begin again somewhere else."

Despite initial fears, the attackers turned out to be not fraqi-sponsored terrorists but an older British adversary: the Irish Republican Army. The would-be assassins had parked a van 200 yds, from the Prime

Minister's offices, then used a delayed-timing device to launch three mortar shells from the vehicle while they escaped. One landed in a garden at the back of Major's official residence; two more fell behind the Foreign Office. A total of three

people were injured.

In a statement, the I.R.A.
said the planning for the operation "predates both John Major's coming to power and the
beginning, of British involvement in the golf war." It was
the most brazen assaulf on top
British officials since 1984,
when the I.R.A. set off a homba
a Conservative Party conference in Brighton that killed five
people and narrowly missed
then Prime Minister Maragerta.

Thatcher

The once and future leader

ITALY

#### New Name, Same Game

Italian Communist Party leader Achille Occhetto barely had time to savor his triumph. At a party congress in Rimini, he won a decisive vote to give the Communists a more moderate identity as the Democratic Party of the Left. Then came the pratfall: the newly named Democrats narrowly failed to reelect him as party secretary.

Reformers deserted Occhetto when he refused to amend the leftists' hard-line demand that Italy pull its small contingent of naval and air forces out of the gulf war. Although humiliated, Occhetto won his job back late last week with a decisive 69% of the votes. But the incident illustrated how difficult it is proving to remake Western Europe's largest Marxist party. Cracked a rival political leader: "In 1976 the party finally accepted NATO. Today it's against the United

SOVIET UNION

#### Risking Radiation

Soviet enterprise has taken a macabre turn: vacation trips to the radioactive ruins of Chernobyl. Kievturist, a Ukrainian tour operator, is organizing excursions to the forbidden zone surrounding the entombed remains of the world's worst nuclear accident. Truly adventurous visitors can tour the massive concrete mound where the wreckage of the reactor is buried, a town built for the workers who cleaned up after the accident and a nuclearwaste dump

"We want to show people what can happen if they are not careful about the ecology," says Gennadi Blinov, Kievturist's director general. The \$4-atyperice tag includes optional radiation scans for tourists who are worried. Income from the tours will be used to help victims of the April 1986 disaster.

Soviet scientists are conducting tests to be sure visitors will not suffer any ill effects. Thousands of residents are still being moved out of contaminated zones nearby. The tours will begin in about a month, after the area has been declared safe for travel. But some former residents are apparently not waiting for the government's verdict. Tried of their cramped existence as refugees in Kize, farm fold have been seen tracking back or celaim risk of randiation.



Chernobyl: glowing in the dark

CHINA

#### That Was Then, This Is Mao

Is China ready for the second coming of Mao Zedong? After the death of the Great Helms man in 1976, his reform-mind-ed successors wasted no time discrediting his ideas. But while Maoism remains out of style, the Chairman himself is more popular today than at any time in the past decade. Once tossed aside as shameful relics of the hated Cultural Revolution, Mao buttons and portraits are

selling fast in some Chinese

shops and stalls. Last year 900,000 people visited his birth-place in Hunan province, a record since the late 1970s. And a forthcoming film stresses his human qualities, portraying him as an unassuming leader who loved ballroom dancing. For many modern Chinese

For many modern Chinese who fret about political malaise and economic stagnation, Mao symbolizes the promise of the "50s, when the leadership appeared to be incorruptible and struggle—political and othcrwisc—scened to have a purpose. The new Mao cult has even imbued the Chairman with talismanic powers. In Guangdong prov-

ince, truck drivers and shop owners display Mao posters, believing the image will ward off ill fortune and bring profits to their businesses-an ironic twist for an anticapitalist who imposed radical egalitatianism on



power: the Chairman on a truck

# No Rain, No Gain

And much pain, as California's drought threatens a way of life

#### By JEANNE MC DOWELL

In the 40 years he has farmed the fertile soil of California's San Joaquin Valley, Fred Starrh has known his share of hardship. But never has he had a year like this, Rainfall and snowfall 75% below normal have left the state parched, and Starrh is struggling to save his 8,000-acre spread. He has let all 40 of his permanent employees go. He won't plant cotton this spring-it needs lots of water. His alfalfa. another thirsty crop, will come in at onesixth of last year's harvest. He is desperately scrounging for water to sustain his almond trees. Still he retains faith, "It's

like being told you're going to die," says Starrh, 61. "Until it happens, you think you just might make it Such sentiments are increasingly common in California. From the rich

farmlands that yield half the nation's fruits and vegetables to the usually snow-drenched Sierra Nevadas to the lush gardens of Bel Air, Californians are grappling with the state's worst-ever drought, now entering its fifth year. Farmers, who contribute \$17.6 billion to California's \$735 billion-a-year economy, last week absorbed a double blow. The state Department of Water Resources, which normally supplies water to major farming areas in the fecund San Joaquin Valley, suspended all agricultural deliveries of the water it controls. Meanwhile the Federal Government warned of up to 75%



Bone dry: Santa Barbara (pop. 82,000) used to get much of its water from Gibralter Reservoir in

reservoirs over the next few weeks. City governments convened emergency sessions to consider strict rationing for business and residential users. In the first unforeseen crisis of his new administration, Governor Pete Wilson stopped just short of declaring a state of emergency, instead creating a "drought action team" to draft a water plan in two weeks. "Concern is justified. Panic is not," cautioned Wilson, "This is a threat to our livelihoods, not our lives?

The distinction provided little solace to farmers, who consume 85% of the state's

cutbacks in the low-priced water from its | water and are likely to take the biggest economic hit from the drought. With spring planting only weeks away, agricultural analysts predict a grim harvest; as many as 1.5 million acres left unfarmed, \$642 million in net losses and layoffs of thousands of farm workers. "This is the worst drought most of us can remember," says Bob Vice, president of the 85,000-member California Farm Bureau Federation. "You can't raise crops unless you have tools, and water is the most important tool."

In California's semiarid desert climate. no one expects much moisture from May to

October, but the months of December through March are generally rainy, with January the wettest. Not this season. From Oct. 1 through the beginning of February, only 5 in. of rain fell vs. an average of 28 in, for that period, Reservoirs are half full at best; some are empty. At Edwards Air Force Base, near Lancaster, pumping for groundwater has opened a half-milelong, 12-ft.-deep, 4-ft.-wide crack close to a runway used by the space shuttles. Enough trees have died in the past two years, says the state Forestry Department, to build I million large threebedroom houses. "I don't want to sound too severe," says a spokesman, "but there are certainly more dead trees than there ever have been in modern times."

The impact of the drought and cutbacks in normally vast supplies of government-provided water will vary through the state's agriculture indus-



Drop that hose! An Angeleno caught watering a hedge In parts of the Golden State, gardening can be a crime.



the Los Padres National Forest

try. Field crops that consume large amounts of water, such as alfalfa and cotton-the state's No. 1 export-are sure to suffer. "We may be looking at a million-bale loss," says Kevin McDermott, vice president for economic research at Calcot, a Bakersfield cotton cooperative. That would equal 30% of the normal harvest. Most imperiled will be the 2.1 million acres of permanent crops. the grapevines and fruit, olive and nut trees that must be watered to survive, even if they don't yield a harvest. While tomato and carrot growers may be able to sustain the economic loss of not planting this year, the \$3,000-per-acre capital investment required to plant trees and vines means that many farmers trapped in low-water areas are facing disaster or something close to it

They can do little in response. Some are drilling wells to tap water deep beneath the surface, but others live in areas without significant groundwater. Still others are switching to crops that get by on less water-planting safflower instead of corn, for example. Many search desperately for outside sources and are willing to pay top dollar. Near Bakersfield in Kern County, farm manager Ronald Khachigian has contracted to purchase water from a private industrial source for almost double the price he usually pays. "It's better than not harvesting anything," he says. His normal price is just \$90 for each acre-foot (an acre-foot is 326.000) eallons and equals the annual consumption for two households).

The effects of California's drought will spread across the U.S. this spring and summer when shoppers may well pay higher prices for some fruits and vegetables. By far the country's largest agricultural porducer. California grows more than 90% of America's broccoli. apricots, grapes, nectarines, prunes and almonds, more than 80% of its lemons and plums, most of its peaches, lettuce and strawberries.

In urban areas, rationing, cutbacks and conservation are spreading fast. The Los Angeles city council is expected to approve shortly a plan requiring residential users and businesses to reduce consumption 10% from 1986 levels or pay stiff penalties. In San Diego, where conservation is voluntary, the city has set up a telephone hot line to provide conservation tips and a snitch line for reporting water-wasting neighbors. All new construction in outlying areas must include low-flow toilets. Tough restrictions on landscaping, which would limit the planting of grass, are under consideration. In a two-prong strategy. San Francisco has set 25% mandatory cutbacks in water use and is purchasing water from neighboring Placer and Stanislaus counties. In Marin County last week officials passed the most stringent cutbacks yet: 50%. They are also studying plans to increase the water supply 14% by building a \$60 million desalination plant that would transform murky water from San Francisco

Bayinto an extra 5,000 areed, a year. Frightened by prospects of further rationing, industrial companies that contioning, industrial companies that consume large amounts of water are some large amounts of water are some large ways to use fees. Kelcu, a San Diego-based chemical producer, a mins to cut water, a mis to cut water, can be consumption 40% over the next three years by recepting more of what it needs to present the seaweed it sees saw are material. Sentiure rs. o Silicon Valley's Intel. a leading material, senting the production manufacturing uses touch extra solve looking into recepting methods.

He have a point, white emergency actionshy industry and government may ease the crisis. California will have to adopt a sebetter system for allocating-water to attract skitch hassinesses and stabilize its agriculstration of the control of the conwhich those who have water can easily sell which those who have water can easily sell it to those who need it more. Many agree on the root of the recent dislocations. Calitorius water's much too cheap. The federon of the control of the control of the formis water's much too cheap. The federol and the control of the control of the hard of the control of the control of the contro

Some of the distressed farmers are suffering because they have planted thirsty crops—rice, cotton, alfalfa—that would not be conomical to grow in the first place if water cost more. Farmers also typically use the most wasteful method of firrigation ditches. The drip method, which supplies water in needed quantities to each plant, uses about 20% less water than diches hut as long as water is cheap, farmers have no reason to spend the money to install drip systems. Sops Rechard Howitz, professor of california at Dawie "We should be treating water like a market commodity that fluctuaters in water."

As the Golden State turns brown, residents wonder how long the drought will last. No one can tell them. Some meteorol-



ogists ask whether the state is undergoing a permanent climatic change, but most point out that multiyear droughts have occurred often over the centuries. The 1928-34 drought lasted even longer than this one. Astrologers, not always disdained in California, say that with Saturn moving toward Aquarius, the skies will begin to open. Drenching rains lashed Northern California last week but probably sank straight into cracked ground rather than running into rivers and lakes. Relief almost certainly will not come soon. Even if the rainy season were average, it would not return many reservoirs to normal levels. In any case, an average season would require 40 in, of rain between now and May, which is almost unheard of. And then another dry season begins. - With reporting by Paul Krueger/San Dieso and Elizabeth L'Hommedieu/San Francisco

## **Pointing Toward Prosperity**

An exuberant stock market has all but declared America's recession over. The public isn't persuaded.

By S.C. GWYNNE WASHINGTON

If the economic news is really see bad, why is wall street so globy? The girm tidings of late January and early February were couple to depress anyone: 232,000 more Americans losi jobs, housing starts such to their lowest level street, 1982, consumer confidence plunged to a 10-year low the bank-marance find was proclaimed nearly brokes and a costly was thought and a costly was though and a costly was the form of the property o

The explanation is that investors aren't looking at the present. They're focused on the future - and they like what they see. Conventional wisdom on Wall Street holds that the market anticipates the effects of economic changes six months ahead, suggesting that the market bottom of Oct. 11 foreshadows a recovery beginning around April. Whatever the timing, investors clearly expect a remarkably short, shallow recession. They're not infallible, but collectively they seem to embody wisdom they may individually lack. Says James Grant, editor of Grant's Interest Rate Observer: "The question of the hour is whether the market is right. One always stands humbly be-

fore the market."

An important reason for investor optimiss the Federal Reserve Bank svigorous efforts to reverse this recession. In December the central bank cut the interest rate it charges member banks and reduced some of the reserves if requires them to keep, freeing around \$13-billion of lendable funds. It reduced its interest rates again by an un-

duced its interest rates again by an unusually large 0.5% in February and pumped further billions into the economy by buying securities on the open market, causing the prime rate and mortgage rates to drop. With the central bank so powerfully stimulating the conomy, betting on a downtum seemed foolish. As they say on the Street: Never fight the Fed.

Investors were also reacting to nuggets of promise among the gloomy coonomic headlines. An index of help-wanted advertising turned upward for the first time in five months. A survey by Chicago's Federal Reserve Bank of 28 well-regarded ecronmists and analysts concluded that this recession could show a decline in gross national product of as little as 0.6%, ss. the average recessionary swing of 2.6% from peak to buttom. The amount of goods sitting in warebouses is extraordinarily low--as a propor-

"The question of the hour is whether the market is right. One always stands humbly before the market."

- James Grant, editor Grant's Interest Rate Observer

tion of sales, it's the lowest in more than a decade—and economists expect it to fall further in the next several weeks. Explains Kenneth Goldstein of the Conference Board, a national business-research organization: "Inventories are so scarce that any demand will result in an immediate injection of new production orders."

Which raises the question of where that demand might come from. The most significant drag on the economy, say managers, economists, investors and consumers, is uncertainty. People seem paralyzed, partly by the war, partly by worry over the mess in the banking industry. In a TIME/CNN poll conducted last week by Yankelovich, Clancy & Shulman, 63% of respondents said they expect the economy to get worse, vs. 31% who expect it to improve. Says John McCoy, chairman and chief executive of Ohio-based Banc One, among the nation's most prosperous banks: "The numbers may indicate a moderate and short recession, but can you believe the numbers? The issue no one knows about is the length of the war. Whether it's car dealers or retailers, everyone is just not doing anything.

Some executives insist that the war is not a serious business concern for them since their major fear-that hostilities would multiply the price of oil-proved unfounded. "We've never felt that war was as important as the Fed or financial markets," says Jerry Jasinowski, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. But the attitudes of individual buyers determine the shape of America's consumer economy, and they still seem tied to the war's progress. Darryl Hartley-Leonard, president of Hyatt Hotels, figures that "if the war were to end in April. there would be such euphoria that it would kick us right out of this recession

Wall Streeters are conforted that some of the same rate investors seem to be confident. Warren Buffett, the Wall Street legend with in a lifetime has Street legend with in a lifetime has recently bought major sakes in roushled industries. He invested an estimated \$250 million in Wells Fargo & Co. and \$300 million in Champion International. 20 million in Champion International. 20 million in Champion International international informational products company. Luurence Tisch and his mily-controlled Lowes Curp, have sank of Boston and Continental Bank. Conducts security analyst Bruce Benteman,

who tracks the nation's wealthiest stock pickers: "Everyone thinks our problems in banking and real estate are worse than they've ever been, but the smartest investors are saying these aren't anything that can't be dealt with."

Most economists prefer to stress the uncertainty in the economy, but pin them down and their consensus is that growth should resume sometime in the second quarter. Not rapid

in the second quarter. Not rapid growth—perhaps at an annual rate of only 15% or 2%. But when it comes, it will rate of only 15% or 2%. But when it comes, it will not section to the second control of the second o

#### **Business Notes**

GOVERNMENT

#### Not Labor's Lady

Political honeymoons seldom begin as auspiciously as Lynn Martin's, Last week the Senate

voted 94 to 0 to confirm the five-term Illinois Congresswoman, who was defeated in a race for the U.S. Senate last November, as George Bush's new Labor Secretary.

A fiscal conservative who is a moderate on social issues. Martin, 51, built a reputation as The new Secretary



a Republican maverick by voting to override Bush's vetoes of bills raising the federal minimum wage and guaranteeing family and medical leave for workers. Despite those votes. organized labor isn't happy. "Her voting record has not reflected a sensitivity

to the needs of workers. plained Lane Kirkland, president of the 14 million-mem ber AFL-CIO, Business groups such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers welcomed her appointment.

ENTREPRENEURS

#### **Profits in** Bloom

Being stationed in the gulf doesn't mean you can't send Valentine's Day flowers back home. Several hundred servicemen have placed orders with Calvx & Corolla, an innovative mail-order flower company in San Francisco. The troops get a 20% Valentine's discourft.

Under founder and president Ruth Owades, the threeyear-old company has reached

sales of \$10 million. By contracting directly with 25 domestic and four foreign growers and teaming up with Federal Express. Owades cuts out wholesalers and retailers, guaranteeing that flowers or plants can be delivered within 48 hours and trimming costs as much as 15%. Customers of Calvx & Corollathe name refers to the outer and inner parts of a flower-receive six catalogs a year, offering arrangements ranging from \$25 (nine Enchantment Lilies) to \$450 (a year's worth of orchids).

SAVINGS AND LOANS **Audit at** Your Peril

It was another nail-biting week for the number crunchers at Ernst & Young. America's biggest accounting firm tentatively agreed to pay some \$40 million to the Federal Government for faulty work done by a predecessor firm, Arthur Young & Co., on behalf of Charles Keating's failed Lincoln Savings. The set-

tlement could be a bargain: it should keep Ernst from being named in a \$2 billion government fraud-and-racketeering suit stemming from Lincoln's collapse.

But the accounting firm barely has time to celebrate. The SEC is investigating whether 36 Young partners improperly borrowed money from Republicbank of Dallas. Some of them had audited the bank (and certified it healthy) a year before it also crumbled.

lar jobs by 1993. The dividend

cut alone will save \$840 million

company: they project a \$1.4 bil-

lion loss, the firm's worst ever.

when fourth-quarter 1990 earn-

ings are announced this week.

automaker is pre paring for a long.

And with sales of

domestic cars

plummeting 31%

in January to the

lowest level since

1982, they predict

that Ford and

Chrysler will be

forced to make

similar cuts in the

Industry experts foresee even worse news ahead for the

a year

At J.F.K. Airport, no customers to fight over

AIRI INES

#### Darwinism Aloft

Even as allied planes dominate Middle East skies, a big dogfight may be developing above the U.S. The gulf conflict has sent jet-fuel prices soaring and passenger travel plunging, creating brutal competition in the airline industry. Last week the big got bigger as American, United Delta and Northwest all picked over the careass of Eastern Air Lines. In a bankruptey auction they divvied up 238 landing and takeoff slots, 48 boarding gates and four of the failed carrier's routes. The biggest winner: Delta. with 16 landing and takeoff slots, 21 boarding gates and three routes serving Canada for \$157 million. The losers: small carriers such as Amer-

ica West, Midwest Express and Southwest, which bid but came

up empty Carriers that were already weak lost even more altitude. Pan Am, which filed for bankruptcy last month, announced that it would cut its work force 15%, or 4,000 employees, while further scaling back service to Europe. Financially troubled TWA missed scheduled debt payments of \$76 million. Says industry analyst Rose Ann Tortora: "The strong are getting stronger, and the weak are screaming uncle."

#### **GM Gets a** Little Slimmer

ALITOS

For the first time since 1980, General Motors ordered deep cuts in the dividends it pays to stockholders-from 75e to 40e a share. GM also said it will cur-

But Wall Street analysts applaud GM's moves, saying they tail executive bonuses this year and phase out 15,000 white-colindicate that the world's largest

mobiles crowd a Michigan lot

TIME, FEBRUARY 18, 1991



# Women on the Verge of A Nervy Breakthrough

Bucking Hollywood's musclemania, Jodie Foster and a clutch of fine young actresses snag some serious roles

#### By RICHARD CORLISS

larice Starling, 1811 trainee, is one smart cookie, brighter and more cautely intuitive than the men in charge. Yet she treats them all—bosses, bureaucrats, the occasional serial killer—with an elaborate respect whose irony shows only at the cutting edges. When an asylum director sneers that Starling has wasted his time, she replies, "Yessit, but then I would've missed the pleasure of your cumpany, sir." That second sir is the smooth stillerts.

Clarice (Jodie Fisster) is the hero of The Silience of the Lamba, a pretty sharp new thriller about a woman poised between two multiple murderers one a sad sadist [Fed Levine) who flays his vectime to "harvest their hiskes," the other are more musical to help Starling solve the crimes. With or without him, she is bound to musical to help Starling solve the crimes. With or without him, she is bound to young woman whom a madman has put down a deep hole, and she will prove herself up to deiny a mun Sight.

If you had Hollywood's taste for melodrama, you could see Clarice as an apt emblem of women in American movies. Patronized and endangered. Deemed too small, too soft to show muscle at the box office. Working-or, more often, not working-at the whim of the men who make the movies. According to the Screen Actors Guild, only 29.1% of all feature-film roles in 1989 went to women. The average male SAG member earned 60% more than the average female; of actors in their 50s, men earned 150% more. "It looks to me as though females get hired along procreative lines," says Carrie Fisher, actress (Star Wars) and writer (Postcards from the Edge). "After 40, we're kind of cooked."

Meryl. Streep, 41, dominates serious bilin relea san extress has before. She gets about.54 million a pitutre, if raction of the boosty commanded by the dozen vs smalle stars with whom the world is on a finastars with whom the world is on a finamane basis (Farnold, Sly, Bruce, Jack, Eddie, Tom. 3). And her sisters on the sereen make far less in fair (new roles. "HI the trend continues." Streep told a sad, women's conference last summer, "by the



Bening: a sex kitten in control

year 2000 women will represent 13% of all roles. And in 20 years we will have been eliminated from movies entirely. But that's not going to happen, is it, ladies?"

It won't happen. High-budget action movies will always require a himbo, a girlmovies will always require a himbo, a girlfriend. And films with an eye toward Osgar usid always need Meryl Streep. But the trend of higger men in bigger movies will always need to higger movies will continue as long as the international audicence pays to see them. In her one block-buster of the '80s. Our al' faire, Streep took second billing to Robert Redford. And if industry, solons grumble when an an Eddie Murphy movie makes only \$60 mil. In that the Murphy of \$80 million (Landithing) and the seed of the contraction of the seed of the



Roberts: a canny, girl-next-door beauty



Leigh: subtle shadings in little-noticed roles

er 48 HRS), should they cheer when the Streep-Fisher Posteards hits \$40 million? Last year, when Hollywood shot its wad on steroid spectacles, and the \$60 million budget became a ho-hum affair, moviegoers provided a surprise punch line to the financial joke the industry had been playing on itself. For the first time in moguls' mem-



Ryder: precocious craft, sepulchral glamour

ory, none of the top three hits were an action adventure with a big male star. Ghost and Pretty Woman were romantic fartasies angled to women: Home Alone, the year's box-office winner, starred a nine-year-eld boy. These modest movies were old-fashioned sleepers, whose success suggested a future for women's movies.

It is unlikely, though, that they signal a return to Hollywood's golden age, when Garbo, Davis, Hepburn, Crawford, Dietrich could sell a film and give it class. That was a more genteel time, one that prized wit, heart and, on screen at least, a sexual equality of emotion and intelligence. Movies were about grownups; the toy-boy heroes stayed in comic books. Maybe audiences were more mature too. These days, Ghost and Pretty Woman are the big-hit exception, not the norm; moviegoers tend to measure heroism in terms of pectorals. Somewhere between Rambo and bimbo. between roles for children (the only age group in which the movies employ more females than males) and the over-40 wasteland, lies the precarious terrain where fine young actresses can do fine work. Just now that acreage is the property of Julia Roberts, currently starring in Sleeping with the Enemy. Her combination of girl-next-door beauty, canny vulnerability and great good fortune in roles quickly begat hit movies (Steel Magnolias, Pretty Woman), which beget a first look at the hottest scripts. Which means that every other young actress gets sloppy seconds. Says Carrie Fisher: "I wouldn't want to look over my shoulder at Julia Roberts," But some of Roberts' peers don't. They look harder for parts, look deeper into their talent, look hopefully to

an industry that will find room for them all. Demi Moore had the best role of 1990,

if you multiply intensity of character by box-office impact. As the grieving widow in Ginsa, Moore grounded the preposterous plot—she gets a last chance to make love with her lost lowe—and gave it resonance. She has shone in romantic comody (about last night...) and Braf Pack frippery (St. Elmo's Fire). She always seems wired; nerves on edge, claint on display.

ennifer Jason Leigh shines, but in a different equation: she has been terrific in a dozen films almost nobody has seen. Her only hit was Fast Times at Ridgemont High, and that was a decade ago. Her main roles are as dimwit sluts and babes in bondage. But the daughter of actor Vic Morrow finds subtle shadings in all these parts: the put-upon homeowner in Heart of Midnight, the woozy Delta princess in Sister Sister, the victimized trollop Tra-La-La in Last Exit to Brooklyn and, triumphantly, the pathetic young prostitute in Miami Blues. A ferocious student in the Method tradition, Leigh has crammed for everything but stardom. That too will come, if she gets some of the luck denied to the characters she makes sizzle on-screen.

Annette Bening plays whores too— Indiywood sometimes thinks that for women prestitution is the world's only prolession—but these douises are in control. The smile that dimples her face in Valumour lession—but these douises are in control. The smile that dimples her face in Valumour antispating a hearty meal. An off-Broadway dumnus, Bening also did brief times Posceath from the Edge as a romantie cival of Meryl Streep's. Time will tell if she can challenge Streep's pre-eminence. For now she seems a better bett as a literative Kathland and the street of the street o

Winnons Ryder, at 19, has already achieved the status of existentialist's pinup. Her characters—the death-devoted child in Bendeliuic, the reckless intellectual in Bendeliuic, the reckless intellectual in Heathers, the Jewish teen obsessed with Heathers, the Jewish teen obsessed with Heathers, the Jewish teen obsessed with the about the status of the

As for Jodie Foster, people have been watching her for 25 of her 28 years, since she appeared as a child in Coppertone commercials, One roiled soul, John Hindeley, watched her so closely that his obsession drove him to try to assassinate President Reagan. That morbid joil might have sunted and encaved a frailer spirit than Foster's. But this woman is sturdy, created the control to the strength of the control to the control

Video

emotions, her fears. Both head and heart.

Silence, under Jonathan Demme's direction, is a compelling, judicious scare show that occasionally suffers from excess of heart and a certain softheadedness. It fudges the complex psychosis of Hopkins' Dr. Lecter-"Hannibal the Cannibal" preens too much and bites too rarely-and is so little interested in the inner workings of its other murderer, a would-be transsexual, that some critics have accused the film of gay baiting. Clarice, for the most part an exemplary sleuth, nearly stumbles at the climax into the tritest of movie stereotypes, the klutzy victim. Thomas Harris' source novel got all this right, in taut, probing prose. Demme's Silence is a good thriller from a great chiller.

Any movie can deliver tingles by placing a little lady in an old dark house. What beguiled Demme and Foster was the character study of a young woman discovering strength under pressure. Clarice is under strength under pressure. Clarice is under 11 to abserves he in rebenfies chose-ups, and Foster, her mouth set in a line as straight as Carac'es priorities, doesn't will under the glare. After The Accused, which won her an Academy, Ward as the good-time gif who confronts her rapits, Foster can be deine-class woman standing tall in crisis in class young standing tall in crisis.

f Foster ever doubted the seductiveness of this role, she need only have considered the competition. "Women's roles are rarely written as human beings," she says, "Instead, they are written as plot adjuncts; sister of, daughter of. The hero has to save someone, so they wrap that someone in cord and put her on a railroad track. But don't kid yourself: there are very few good scripts-for men, women or dogs. This business has gotten to the point where everyone writes from the producer's notes. or they write for audience marketing." Then this 19-year movie veteran segues to long shot, "It all goes in phases," she says. "I have seen everyone come and go. In the long run, you have to stick with quality. The only thing you can count on is your instinct for quality

for quality."

Now she is testing that instinct in her directorial debut with *Lutle Man Tate*, the stoyo of a child prodige (Adam Hann-Byrd), his earing mother (Foster) and a psychiatrist (Dianne Wiess). The film is due in the fall, but this month the new auteur is estatic. "I'm jammin'," she says. "It's getting a little heetic, but it's coming along great."

Leaf so reprinting allowing great matching pending; women in movies have so few. What they and Hollywood need is to start at Reel I with a happy beginning. Meryl Streep can star. Carrier fisher will write the script. And Jodie Foster, a child of the movies who has always known the direction she and her films should take, will shout, "Action!" And never mind the six. "Reportedly Elizabeth L. Bland Liox Angeles.

#### And Now, a R-r-really Big Shew

THE VERY BEST OF THE ED SULLIVAN SHOW; CBS; Feb. 17; 9 p.m. EST

and couldn't dance. He didn't sing, And he bungled jokes. His malayrops and mannerisms endlessly inspired comic impersonators. "Let's hear if for the Lord's Prayer." he once croaked, after a tenor had sung it. During a lawish encommum to the Supremes he forgot the trio's name and concluded lamps." Here care for the concluded lamps." Here care for the concluded lamps." Here care for the transpianted from Easter Island to Broadtranspianted from Easter Island to Broadway, he would rock back and forth nostings.

February 1964: the Great Stone Face chats up the Fall Four

at the state of th

Also jugglers, comics, Motown singers and opera divas.

hands across chest or clutching his kidneys, while in baleful voice he introduced a succession of comedians, jugglers, rock bands and animal acts.

If charisma were all that counted, Ed Sullivan should have been pink-slipped after his first broadcast (on what was originally called Toast of the Town) in 1988. Yet for 23 years after that, for millions of Americans, Sunday night at 8 belonged to CPS, home of television's longest-running prime-time vaudeville, The Ed Sullivan

At one time TV dismissed its early years, like a bad dream or an unhappy, childhood. But nostalgia is in vogue these days: recycling golden oldites can mean money in the bank. As the centerpiece of a ricerary urbates to all in the Fundy and ricerary urbates to all in the Fundy and for a two-hours poperal. The Vor Best of the Ed Sullivan Show, With Carol Burnett as bost and fond remisseences by Alan King. Carol Lawrence, Joan Rivers and others, this visual anthology features many highlights that have not been seen since they were first broadcast.

Sullivan liked to promise his audiences "a r-r-really big shew," and far more often than not he delivered. "Ed Sullivan was America's taste," observes Rivers, which is probably as good an explanation as any for the program's long-running success. A Manhattan-born sportswriter turned

show-hiz columnist for the New York Daily News, Sullivan had a reporter's instinct for what was hot. and he outhustled rivals to showcase new talent, notably Elvis Presley and the Beatles. And not just in pop. Sullivan proudly treated his audiences to classical excellence in the personae of opera diva Joan Sutherland and ballet stars Rudolf Nureyev and Margot Fonteyn, He encouraged black artists at a time when TV offered them few opportunities. Ella Fitzgerald and Pearl Bailey were all but regulars: Motown stars-from Smokey Robinson to the winsome little Jackson Five-got ample display.

The Very Best was produced by Andrew Solt, a

TV-documentary specialist who spent a year negotiating the rights to 1,087 hours of taped broadcasts from the host's son-in-law and former producer. Robert Precht. (Sullivan died of cancer in 1974.) Soft is editing the shows into 130 half-hour segments, which he plants to offer for syndication, puckage as home videos

and use as the basis for future TV specials. Why not just rerun the originals? Solt's answer is that their pacing is too languid for modern tastes, which is probably true but also beside the point. Early TV was shot live, and a considerable part of its charm-witness The Honeymooners-was its ramshackle unpredictability. The Very Best solidly documents Sullivan's skill as a talent scout but gives little sense of the show's herky-jerky rhythm and calculated structure-one novelty act, two comic spots and so on-or of its host's weird, looming omnipresence. Solt's deconstruction is a pleasant memory tickler. It could have been more. - By John Elson. With reporting by William Tynan/New York

#### Ronnie's Iron 80

Saddam Hussein failed to send greetings, but just about everyone else did. The Hollywood crowd turned out in force-including old pals Liz Taylor and Jimmy Stewartand Vice President Dan Quayle led a bevy of politicians as 900 guests gathered at the Beverly Hilton to celebrate Ronald Reagan's 80th birthday. With tables costing up to \$25,000 apiece, the purse for Reagan's presidential library, a building in near-

by Simi Valley, got a big boost. But the star of the gathering was none other than Margaret Thatcher, an old friend of Ron and Nancy's. The Iron Lady's introduction was interrupted by a standing ovation, causing her to remark, "That's a far better reception than I ever received at the House of Commons." Reagan, who doesn't believe in celebrating birthdays after 39, called the occasion the 41st anniversary of his 39th birthday



#### Have Steinway, Will Travel

It's not Carnegie Hall, but for planist LAURA SPITZER the American West is a spiffy stage. In a big white truck she travels the country with her Steinway, bringing Chopin and Mozart to ruralites who rarely get to hear the classics. Spitzer, 38, gives about 125 shows a year, visiting schools, churches-anywhere they'll plunk down a few bucks to hear her. Along the way, the Salzburg-trained virtuoso has made a ton of friends. "I almost never stay in a hotel," she says. Among those awaiting her arrival: the folks of Hayfork, Calif.

#### **Taking Over**

No order is too tall for Danny DeVito, who stands at a full 5 ft. He'll sign on for the role of the hyperactive, head-humping Mario in a film based on the Nintendo Super Mario Bros. video games. Meanwhile, he's been in Manhattan's canyons of finance shooting the film Other People's Money, in which he plays a takeover titan known as Larry the Liquidator. DeVito admires the character: "I respect a man who sees the opportunity to make money and goes after it." To prepare for his role, he spent time tailing investment bankers and learning their ways. It's a raid! Don't anybody move.



#### The Return of Tom Swift

Remember TOM SWIFT? He was young, daring, brilliant-and he could invent just about anything. The adventure series went out of print 20 years ago, but starting in April Pocket Books will publish new updated stories. Created by Edward Stratemeyer, who also gave us Nancy Drew and the Hardy Boys, the first Tom Swift book appeared in 1910, and Tom went on to invent the movie camera and the



photo telephone. But with a new book every other month, the writers will have to do far better for Tom's exploits in the high-tech '90s. First out will be The Black Dragon, in which the teen's highflying, superconductive skyboard is stolen for evil purposes.

#### Thrice Spoken

Sinead O'Connor likes speaking out almost as much as singing. She skipped a Saturday Night Live show to hovcott comedian Andrew Dice Clay and refused to have the The Star-Spangled Banner played before a concert. Now she's decided to skip next week's Grammy Awards. Her reason this time; to protest the gulf war and society's 'misguided materialism,' "Artists are afraid that speaking out will hurt their careers," says the Irish singer, "I

want to prove that there is nothing that can harm you when you speak the truth.



#### Religion

#### **More Spongtaneous Eruptions**

An Episcopal bishop's unorthodoxy reaches epic proportions

esus Christ, as portrayed in some New Testament passages. is "narrow-minded" and "vindictive." The Gospel writers "twisted" the facts concerning Jesus' resurrection, which was never meant to be taken literally. The virgin birth of Christ is an unthinkable notion, and there is not much value in the doctrine of the Trinity, or in the belief that Jesus Christ was sent to save fallen humanity from sin. St. Paul, the missionary of Christianity to the Gentiles, was a repressed and "self-loathing" homosexual. As for the Old Testament, it contains a "vicious tribal code of ethics" attributed to a "sadistic" God. The idea that Yahweh bestowed the Promised Land upon the Israelites

is "arrogance."

Excerpts from a tract by a

staunch arbeise? On the contrary, those are assertimen offered by a bishops of America's Episcopa (Fuerch, John Spong of Newark, in he new book, Recenting the Bible from Fundamentalism (Harper San Francisco, 18-65). Spongs ourthedoxy is of 18-65). Spongs ourthedoxy is of 18-65, standing, but it has now reached epic proprious. His previous book, Lering in Simr, cassailed Christian dos and don'ts on sex and asserted that nonmarfails sex can be holy under some circumstances. After the work appeared in 1988, Spong ordained a service and asserted that nonmarfails sex can be holy under some circumstances. After the work appeared in 1988, Spong ordained a Episcopal House of Bishops for "disassiciaries" in 1811 from Sonot sexticon.

The provocative prelate also has Ro-



Are there limits to what a churchman may dishelieve?

man Catholies furning. A task force in his Newark dioces has just declared that Catholicism's view of women is "so insulfing, so retrograde that we can respond only by saying that women should, for the sake of their own humanity, leave that communion." Spong handpicked the panel, and offers no particular criticism of its assertions, though he says he might have employed midter lunguage. Newark's Cathophoyed midter lunguage, Tevarie's Cathophoyed midter lunguage. The carrie's has decrifed the "offensive attacks" or Catholicism.

In Rescuing the Bible, Spong brands traditional Catholicism as a "destructive" creed. But he is even more offended by conservative Protestants who take a literal view of biblical exegesis. Spong, 59, held similar beliefs in his boyhood as a practicing Presbyterian, and has admitted that Fundamentalism gave him a "love of Scripture that is

no longer present in the liberal tradition of the church." In taking aim at literalism, Spong declares his goal is to reveal the spiritual truths underlying the biblical text. Still, his book lashes out both at the conservative view of the Bible and at its adherents, who are, Spong says, consumed by "enormous fear" of doctrinal uncertainty.

Spong's wildly offbeat convictions raise an intriguing question: Are there any limits to what an Episcopal leader may believe—or disbelieve? His Paul-was-gay argument, based tenuously upon the

ment, based tenuously upon the Apostle's unmarried state and frequently mentioned sense of personal sin, is causing a growing uproar among traditionalists. But conservative Bishop William Frey, president of Pennsylvania's Trimiy Episcopal School for Ministry, doubts

any decisive stand will be taken by the church against his colleague's writings. "The House of Bishops has shown itself to be impotent in the face of challenges to the core beliefs of the church," Frey says. "We've been paralyzed by our politeness."

Los Angeles Bishop Frederick Borsch, who chairs the hierarchy's theology committee (on which Spong sits), explains that "we are not a confessional church that tries to write a definition of orthodoxy. A lot of us would defend this as the genius of Episcopalianism." Spongs: latest work, however, leaves the genius somewhat combattled.

—By Richard N. Ostling.

Reported by Michael P. Harris/Newark

#### Milestones

DISMISSED. Eight state (ax-evasion charges; against Loona Helmsley, 70, hotel operator; on the grounds of double jeopardy; in New York. Helmsley is appealing an earlier federal decision, on which she was sentenced to four years in prison, fined \$7 million and ordered to perform 750 hours of community service.

DIED. Damy Thomas, 79, comedian and pilinathropist. in Los Angeles. In the 1950s. and '60s he starred in the television series Make Room for Dadde' and The Damw Thomas Stine as the family's cranky but kind patriarch. Born Muyad Yakhooh to Lebanese immigrants in Deerfield, Mich. Thomas made a name for himself more as-a topic of the property of the property of the radio and films. In 1962 he founded the St. Jude Children's Research Hospital in Memphis to treat cancer-stricken youngsters. The Saturday before he died he appeared in his son's TV show Empty Nest.

DIED. James Knight, 81. co-founder of the Knight nesspaper chair: in Statu Monica. Calif. In 1933 Knight, with his brother, inbertied the troubled Aktron Becom Journal and turned it around. The self-described "nuts and boils" man of the empire. Knight later pushed his brother to purnuts and boils" man of the empire. Knight later pushed his brother to purnut and pushed his brother to purmerged with Ridder Publications: the Knight Ridder chain now has 29 datiles.

DIED. Pedro Arrupe, 83. Spanish-born head of the Jesuits from 1965 to '83: in Rome. During his tumultuous reign over the largest Roman Catholic order. Arrupe was considered one of the most influential superiors general in the Society of Jesus 450-year history. In 1981 Arrupe, whose liberal stances frequently put him at odds with the papacy, suffered a stroke and in 1983 became the first

superior general to resign instead of dying in office as his predecessors did.

DIED. Dean Jagger, 87, actor in more than 100 films who won an Oscar for Twelve O'Clock High; in Santa Monica, Calif.

DIED. Aaron Siskind, 87. photographer whose almost abstract black-and-white pictures were an influence on postwar Abstract Expressionists; in Providence.

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#### Books

#### **Portrait of the Young Artist**

A LIFE OF PICASSO, VOL. 1 by John Richardson Random House; 560 pages; \$39.95

#### By ROBERT HUGHES

ablo Picasso (1881-1973) was the most fertile artist of the 20th century, and immense quantities of ink have been spill over his work. He was, you might say without too much exaggeration, both the last hero of Romantic culture and the first of the age of publicity: a prodigy of talent on permanent display in an age of

mass media. No other artist, not even Michelangelo, had been famous in quite this way before.

Because his public eareer lasted most of the 20th century. Pleasso has been seen through many distorting filters. The latest is the complacent feminist critique that seeks to jettison the idea of the "great artist" and to flatten his work into stereotypes of patriarchy and misogany. But where is the book that gives us the actual man?

Over the years Picasso has been the subject of much penetrating scholarship, but also of too much guff. There have been hundreds of books about Picasso, but no really satisfactory biography until now. Those written in English tended to be useful but overadoring, like the 1958 life by his close friend Roland Penrose; or deplorably ignorant, like Picasso: Creator and Destroyer (1988), by Arianna Stassinopoulos Huffington. To draw Picasso whole, in full context, is a daunting task; but now that the first of John Richardson's four volumes is out, one sees that it could indeed he done.

This is probably the last serious biography of Picasso that will be written by anyone who knew him well. Richardson, now 67. first met the artist when he was living in France in the early 1950s; their rapport lasted 10 years, and the young English art critic kept ample notes. With the assistance of art historian Marilyn McCully (whose speciality is turn-of-the-century Barcelona, where Picasso's talent was incubated). Richardson has mined a large seam of material. He was, for instance, the first biographer allowed to consult Picasso's own archives. He knows the work intimately, and is skilled at teasing out its recurrent strands of imagery-those pointers to Picasso's deepest impulses-across a long span of

The result is a life story in the classic mold. The idea that an artists work can be approached through the events of his life is disparaged by some academic crities. Certainly one learns little about some artists—Braque, for instance, or even Matrists—From the tenor of their iday-to-day lives. But with Picasso, who viewed his art as a diary, the life is the best key to the



ohn Richardson: a biographer in the classic mold
'hronicling the century's most fertile artist.

work. And the work is suffused with the man's traits: his extreme machismo, his predatory eye (the Andalusian mutual function or guze of power, which, as Richardson rightly argues, was one of Peasaso's fectishes), his belief in the magic power of timingses. his controlled carinhistion, his shown has been been sufficiently as the many peasas while debunking useful feepends as the notion that he dress like a child prodigy, a visual Mozart.

The narrative frame is short. It brings Pieasso from childhood through the Blue and Rose periods, stopping in 1907 just as the 25-year-old artist was souping himself up (under the influence of El Greco) to produce what would turn out to be the em-

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#### Books

blematic radical painting of the century. Les Demoiselles d'Avignon. Richardson is a born storyteller, with a vivid sense of detail and character that enables him to deal with the large cast of players entangled in Pieasso's early life, from obscure Catalan artists, shady French art dealers and questing Russian collectors to writers like Alfred Jarry, Max Jacob, Guillaume Apollinaire and that redoubtable, droning narcissist, the Miss Piggy of the American expatriate avant-garde, Gertrude Stein.

R ichardson's account of such figures has to be the most readable description of the avant-garde milieu of 1900s Paris since Roger Shattuck's classic work. The Banquet Years. But they are not there as mere background; their impact on Picasso. their role in the formation of his ideas and imagery, is carefully assessed. One sees, for instance, what Picasso's work got from his "odd couple" friendship with his diametric opposite, the mercurial, spiritually obsessed Jewish homosexual Jacob: it was the vein of mystical imagery, the fascination with arcana, the tarot and the figure of the artist as Hermes Trismegistus, that pervades the Blue Period and culminates in his first masterpiece. La Vie, 1903. Likewise. Richardson is very shrewd about Picasso's relations with Stein, pointing out how her egotism was so resistant to his that she became one of his early real-life icons: her bulky presence, Richardson speculates, fused with childhood memories of his mother, led to the unnaturally massive torsos of his postwar classical nudes.

Richardson explores areas left untouched by earlier writers. Picasso and his girlfriend Fernande Olivier, for example, spent a good deal of their time between 1904 and 1908 high on opium, but the relevance of this to the empty-eved, dreaming waif figures of the Rose Period had gone unnoted before. He does much to clear up the vexed question of Picasso's politics, pointing out-contrary to recent theses on the subject-that the anarchist ideas loose in the air of Barcelona had next to no provable effect on his work, and that as a young artist he was timorously apolitical. The figures of his Blue Period-especially the consumptive-looking girls whose traits he got from visits to the Saint-Lazare prison for "fallen women" in Paris-were not meant as symbols of social inequality; they have much more to do with Picasso's relish for victims.

All along the way, Richardson gives a richly informed and lucid account of the dynamics of Picasso's growth, neither sparing his failures nor losing sight of his quintessential Spanishness. The story pulls like a locomotive and can only gather more energy in volumes to come. If its promise is sustained. Richardson will be to Picasso what Richard Ellmann has been to Joyce, or Richard Holmes to Coleridge.

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#### **Working Lives**

SIGN OFF by Jon Katz Bantam; 374 pages; \$18.95

ost books set in the TV-news industry are about the drama of a big story, the intrigue of an unfolding scandal or the power and glamour and sheer money associated with being a big-league anchor. interviewer or producer. In fiction and reality, TV executives often characterize themselves the way characters do in Jon Katz's roman à clef: as ranking among "the 25,000 most successful people in the world," right up there with generals. Senators, tycoons and Third World dictators. But here the big story and intrigue are inside TV itself-the takeover of a network very much like CBS, where Katz was executive producer of the Morning News from 1983 to 1985. The corporate raider is compounded in equal measure of Donald Trump, CBS chief executive Laurence Tisch and a handful of other hardball players from the headlines. Katz's hero is a work-obsessed producer who undergoes a classic mid-life crisis in which he questions the value of ambition, propositions a female colleague, visits a prostitute, loses his job and realizes that there is more to life.

Much of the plot resists territory from the stage in to ther People's Money, the movie Wall Street and a shell of recent non-tiction, not to mention such Eisenhower-cra cautionary tales as The Mann in the Gray Flaunel Sun. Karl's prose is competent, his dialogue serviceable and his cast of characters large and mostly faceless (dalthough its obsessives stand out: a shopworn survivor of the executivessuite wars: a sh-phockorn-by-crook booker of talk-show interview-cess and a tough, mortalistic accountant).

Three qualities elevate the book to the memorable. First, Katz knows TV, not just the details that lend verisimilitude but the mind-set and values. Any seasoned journalist is likely to identify with some incident and feel a twinge of shame. Second, rather than fulminate against barbarian interlopers. Katz is candid about the waste, carelessness and openly tolerated thievery that made their raids possible. The TV business, he says, was not businesslike. Third, Katz does not exploit the melodrama of the takeover. He largely ignores the boardroom fighting and has the actual bloodless coup take place off-page. His real subject is what work means, whether to a honcho or to a coffee-cart handler-how a job becomes an identity, so that losing it forces a person not only to plan a future but also to re-evaluate the past. Job cuts are a standard TV-news topic. Katz proves that fiction can be far more evocative in making this loss of personhood really matter to the - By William A. Henry III Where do
TIME editors
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#### Living

#### When Dad and Mom Go to War

The deadly reality of war comes home to the military couples separated from their children by Operation Desert Storm

#### By ALAIN L. SANDERS



Brenda Jarmon of Tallahassee still remembers the chilling August phone call. Her daughter, Corporal Lynette Guthery of the Army's 24th Infantry Divinized) based outside Hines-

Army's 28th Infantry Dission (mechanized), based uniside Hinseville, Gas, needed a precious favor. Could the 4thyser-old grandmother take care of 22-year-old Iken—immediately? Both Lynette and her separated Army husband had been ordered to Saudi Arabia, and liken needed a new home right wawy. Of course, answered Jarmon, promptly placing her life, and ther Ph.D. thesis in social work, on hold. She had signed papers eartherized in the properties of the protraction of the protract

Four weeks into Operation Desert Storm, the deadly reality of war has come home for the grandmothers and grandfathers, aunts and uncles, sisters and brothers and family friends who have suddenly been pressed into a very special type of war service: tending children whose parents or whose single parent has been shipped to the Persian Gulf.

The questions, doubts and fears surrounding these children are some of the most wrenching consequences of the nation's decision to develop an all-volunteer military and to give women an expanded and more egalitarian role in it. Only now is the Pentagon conducting a survey to determine how many single parents and military couples with minor children are on active duty. Some experts guess that 140,000 people are married to others in the military and that 67,000 single parents are in the U.S. armed forces. Suddenly, many mothers and fathers who joined the services in peacetime to begin a career-sometimes out of sheer economic necessity-are discovering that the job is ripping both of them away from their children. Worse, those caring for the children back home fear that the task may become permanent. Asks grandmother Mary Villarreal of Pasadena, Texas, charged with taking care of four-month-old twins whose Marine mother and father are in Saudi Arabia: "What if something happens to both of them? Then what about the babies. What becomes of

The Pentagon's answer so far has been blunt: the risk is one that military couples accepted when both husband and wife contisted. If would be a serious mistake, particularly while we are engaged in combat." To reverse our long-standing policy that single parents and must be presented as a particular particular parents and must be a supported anywhere in the world. To make sure that children are not simply abundanced, the Pentagon insists that parents appoint as guardan for them. Each service also operates a family-support network that international particular parents and present as a children are not be a support of the particular particular children. But there are no special exempchildren. But there are no special exempwell, they say, he frequently asks what might happen to his mother and father. When Carlos learned of the initial raids on Baghdad on the car raids coming home from a basketball game, he turned silent. "We never the to the children," says Susan Menard. "When they her about flighting, we check it out and make sure to tell them that these are still the airplanes and that their parents are nowhere near them."

The emotional strain weighs on the military parents, who find themselves torn between the call of their country and the needs of their children. "They miss them; they feel robbed." says Villarreal, who puts the twin infants in her care close to the phone whenever their mom Laura calls from Saudi Arabia, just so she can heart them ery.

Critics of the Pentagon policy charge that neither military parents nor their children need suffer so much grief. Last month Republican Senator John Heinz of Pennsyl-



Susan and John Menard reading to their temporary charges, Carlos and Carmen Lopez

Those looking out for the children fear that the task may become permanent.

tions from war-zone service for military vania and Democratic Representative Bar-couples or single parents.

Many children's rights advocates, mental health professionals and terrified guardians say the no-exception policy is unconscionable. Experts are worried that children who lose both parents may suffer mental trauma: including deep feelings of grief and abandonment, and serious psy-

chological problems in later life.

Brenda Jarmon says Ikea often leaves

her reduced a minister is the article sewes her reduced and minister is the article of the with her greatment. When the test from her mother, she asks me to reduce them over and over again and keeps them under her pillow for safekceping, "asys Janmo, John and Susam Menard of Hinesville. Ga., close friends of Army sergeants Dionisio and Yolanda. Lopez, are taking care of the military couple's two youngsters. Although Carlos, 9, seems to have adjusted vanua and Democratic Representative Barbara Boxer of California introduced similar gulf-orphan legislation. Their bills would allow single parents, or one parent in the case of a military couple with minor children, to decline a war-zone assignment. Military officials would choose which parent to exempt in the case of a couple.

The measures baild on long-standing military regulations that spare from combat anyone who is a sole surviving child or whose closest relatives have been killed in battle. Says Boxer: "This is a volunteer army, but these are not volunteer children. They took no part in any decision that may leave them without parents." The Pentagon supplies the measures. But as the present of a costly ground war gross, the matter could become an emotional issue on Capitol Hill. "Reportably Reader Charti-Washington Hill." "Reportably Reader Charti-Washington".

and Joseph J. Kane/Hinesville



HATS OFF TO NEW FINGERS A \$16,000 batteryoperated Myoelectric Arm, which Rick Bishop, 35, controls with his own muscles, helps him kid around with son Steve

DANCING THE NIGHT AWAY Tom Houston, 49, paralyzed from the waist down, takes a twirl with his wife in the \$11,000 Hi-Rider "standing wheelchair" he designed



#### **Technology**

### Machines That Work Miracles

#### New equipment—and new attitudes—help the disabled get back into the swing

New equipment—and new attitudes—neip the disabled get back into the swing

By ANN BLACKMAN WASHINGTON

avid Bristol knows all about hardship—and overcoming ii. The 42year-old government attorney, whose cubhyhole of an office is just across the street from the White House, was born with cerebral palsy. When he started his job with the U.S. Office of Thrift Supervision, his hands shooks on much that it was impossible for him to type reports by himself. But that was before technology lent him

a hand. Watch him now. Taking a seat at his word processor. Bristol dons a headset with a microphone and starts to dictate. "This is a test of my new computer program." he says. As he talks, his words pop up on the screen. "This program allows me to dictate my weworrs." Bristol spots the spelling mismy weworrs. "Bristol spots the spelling mis-

take and grimaces. "Oops," he says into the microphone. The machine understands the word oops, backs up one word and automatically goes into spell-check mode. Five words sounding like weworsts appear on the screen, including No. 3, "reports," Bristol snaps the command "Choose 3," and the word reports replaces wewors.

The \$9,000 system, called DragonDietate, 8 not just a curiosity. It is on the cutting edge of technology for the 43 million Americans with some form of physical disability. Equipment that uses computers, lasers and lightweight composite materials is enabling the disabled to overcome once insurmountable barriers and participate more directly in everyday life. This exciting—but still expensive—technology who have trouble seeing, hearing, walking, talking and even breathing.

People without the use of their arms or legs can now rely on computerized "sip and puff" machines. With light puffs into a plastic straw, users can switch on the TV and change its channels, telephone a friend and play computer games. Electronic nerve stimulars are helping men with severe spinal-cord injuries to father children; penile implants are enabling men who cannot sustain an erection to make love. Wheelchairs that stand up make it possible for the disabled to greet someone face-to-face and to take a book from a shelf. Laptop word processors that "talk" give individuals with no voice a way to communicate. Materials designed by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration reduce the average



weight of a crippled person's leg braces from 6.4 kg (14 lbs.) to .45 kg (1 lb.).

"When I entered this field 17 years ago, we had only low technology: drab, durable medical equipment mostly made of stainless steel," says Jan Galvin, director of assistive technology at the National Rehabilitation Hospital in Washington, "In the past five years, there has been a real explosion of devices, and the next 10 years will be really amazing. This technology is changing everything, and not just for people with disabilities. By the year 2000, we will all be talking into our word processors instead of typing.

Galvin is one of thousands of specialists-doctors, scientists and engineersworking on designs to meet the needs of today's disabled population. "We used to look at people who were disabled as shutins," she says, "Not anymore, Computers, new materials and new attitudes have revolutionized our industry. If you can move one muscle in your body, wiggle a pinkie or twitch an eyebrow, we can design a

switch to allow you to operate in your environment."

Consider the case of Eileen Carlton, 65, of Danvers, Mass., who had a stroke five years ago and lost almost all ability to speak. Today, working with a visual-communications computer program designed by linguists at the Tufts University School of Medicine, Carlton uses symbols to construct sentences, so that she can communicate with her family and friends. "This has opened a whole new world to her," says her son Bill, 39. "Writing is too complicated for her, but she knows what she wants to say. So instead of spending the rest of her life playing charades, she uses symbols on the computer to tell us that she is visiting a neighbor or wants to go shopping. She's regained some control over her life.

Robert Cushmac, 16, of Alexandria, Va., was paralyzed from the neck down in a car accident six years ago. Now Bob gets around in a power wheelchair activated by a chin-controlled joystick. He is mobile enough to attend T.C. Williams public high school, where he is an honor student and a member of the French and Latin clubs. Unable to breathe without assistance, Bob has been fitted with an Avery Diaphragm Pacer, which uses a battery-powered transmitter to send electric impulses to his phrenic nerve. This causes his diaphragm to contract, simulating normal breathing, "Without this technology, Bobby wouldn't be alive," says Dr. Alan Fields, associate director of critical care at Children's Hospital in Washington.

ome of the new work is being done on old technology, "The old prosthesis was made of willow wood and was very heavy," says Kyle Scott, director of orthotics and prosthetics at the National Rehabilitation Hospital. "Now we're using polyesters and acrylic resins." Scott designed an artificial foot for Jeff Wycliffe, who had his left leg amputated just below the knee after a motorcycle accident three years ago. With the \$7,000 Flex Foot, Wycliffe, 24, not only walks without a limp, but also jogs, bats and plays volleyball and tackle football. In some ways, his replacement foot seems better than the original. "When I come down on it from a jump, I have a lot of spring," says Wycliffe.

The Du Pont Co. produces an acetal resin used to make the Seattle Foot, a flexible, lifelike prosthesis. Among well-satisfied customers is Bill Demby, a former high school basketball player who had both legs amputated below the knee after being caught in a rocket attack in Vietnam. In a widely broadcast Du Pont TV commercial, Demby is shown taking a jump shot in a school-yard game.

Perhaps the most remarkable devices are the computerized vans specially designed for disabled drivers. One owner is Pulitzer-prizewinning columnist Charles Krauthammer, who was paralyzed from the chest down in a diving accident 19 years ago. After logging 85,000 miles in one of

#### SIGHT WRITING Nicholas Gonsalves, 32, can move only his eyes, but the

\$4,000 EyeTyper tracks those movements and "types" messages

these vans, Krauthammer just bought a customized \$53,000 Dodge Caravan designed by Les Schofield of San Antonio's International Mobility Products, Krauthammer calls Schofield the "Chuck Yeager of rehab technology."

To open the new van, Krauthammer

holds a magnet up to a tail light, activating a door lock. The door slides open, the whole van lowers to a few centimeters off the ground, and a ramp slides into place. Krauthammer rolls his wheelchair onto the ramp and maneuvers it into the van. Once inside, his wheelchair locks into place and becomes the driver's seat. His right hand operates a horizontal steering wheel that takes almost no effort to turn; his left hand rests on a lever that activates a vacuum pump that in turn operates both the gas and brake controls. When the lever is pushed toward the window, the van accelerates; when it is pushed toward the center of the vehicle, the van brakes.

The main drawback to such a vehicleand to most of the other new technology-is its cost. Because 68% of disabled people are unemployed, many cannot afford the equipment, and insurance companies often do not cover the devices. "If there's no money available, there's no technology," says Dr. Fields. "It's a question of who pays.

The complex equipment can also be fragile and costly to maintain. Bob Cushmac's Diaphragm Pacer once shut down when he was caught in the rain. Another time it stopped when someone spilled coffee on it. He might have suffocated, but a nurse is with him at all times to provide help. Says George Cushmac, Bob's father: "It's lovely stuff, but it comes with the price of having to repair it when it breaks down. This isn't like owning a Maytag washer with a serviceman waiting to be called."

One reason for the high prices is that the severely disabled population is relatively small and divided into groups with specific needs. Since the market for many of the products is limited, companies cannot produce enough of them to reduce the price to a moderate level. And some promising technologies may not interest any manufacturers. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for example, has been experimenting with a computerized brace that controls muscle tremors in people with multiple sclerosis and other diseases. So far, no company has agreed to market the device

Despite such problems, the technological advances are undeniably dramatic, and an irreversible revolution is under way. It is up to scientists, researchers, doctors, insurance companies and governments to work together to provide America's disabled with more independence, more freedom and more hope-at a price they can afford.

#### Essay Margaret Carlson

#### Saddam Made Me Do It



The practice may have begun at a private school in Washington on Jan. 18, when a group of tenth-graders did poorly on a math test. When the results came back, the class asked the teacher for a makeup exam, explaining how unfair it was to quiz them on the morning

how unfair it was to quiz them on the morning after the first missile attack of the war. They had lost too much sleep watching CNN the night before.

Children were among the first to sense the possibilities in blaming Saddam. They were encouraged by Mr. Rogers, who left his beautiful neighborhood to reassure the young during prime time that it was okay—indeed, it showed a certain precocious sensitivity—to be upset about the bombing in Baghdad. All this hand-wringing makes it seem that children have not managed to get through wars before and that death is some-

thing that can be understood, if only enough network anchors and child psychologists take to the large control of the anchor of the invaves to explicit violence viewing Saturdaymorning cartoons, is not likely to remain alarmed too long over anything that justifies increased television-watching privileges and provides air cover for a variety of mischief.

Soon, the possibilities in "the Scud ate my home-work" spread to those old enough to know better. True, war is hell for those who fight it but can be a handy excuse for those who don't, and adults be-

gan invoking it with an ingenuity and appetite that their offspring could only dream about. The situation in the Persian Gulf was invoked as a cause of the recession—or as President Bash is fond of calling it, the temporary interruption the longest economic expansion in history. Likewise for the twoweek closing of the Poiles-Bergrier in Paris, John McEvine dropping out of a tennis match in Milan, the pricing of the vidve or lease of Ghosts at \$100 instead of \$15.95, and the New York Giants' refusal to take part in Mayor David Dinkins' Super Bowl victor celebration.

The widespread appeal of blaming Saddam for everything is partly explained by its one-size. This-all quality. But it also has other attributes prized by veteran excepting explanation, universally understood, vaguely virtuous and hard to check. War, as the talking heads point out, has uninfended consequences, and having to pay almost twice as much since late January to fly from Chicago to Mami may be one of them. What corporation is the property of the control of the

announcing that it would not be making \$75.5 million in scheduled payments to bondholders in February. As for the dismal performance of retailers over Christmas, who would imagine that thigh-high hemilines or sticker shock over \$100 cotton sweaters and \$200 tennis shoes rather than combat jitters could be use held of women shoes rather than combat jitters could be use held of women shoes rather than combat jitters could be use held of women shoes rather than combat jitters could be used.

Certain linkage is now predictable. Whichever direction the stock market goes and whether it gets there in light, heavy or moderate trading, it does so because of the situation in the Middle East. And the weatherman can hardy get to the local forecast, he's so basy reporting the barrometric pressure in Dhahran. Between the barrometric pressure in Dhahran. Between the water of the before he was to make a \$2.5 million payment to promotiers of the George Foreman-Ewander Holyfield heavyweight championship, Donald Trump artfully invoked a bolletipate "war or was the proposition of the company of the proposition of the proposition of the company of the proposition of the proposition of the company of the proposition of the proposition of the proposition of the company of the proposition of the proposition

host the event at one of his Atlantic City casinos. The ploy is unlikely to succeed unless Saddam bombs the boardwalk, Similarly, Sugar Ray Leonard dragged the troops in Saudi Arabia into an interview last Tuesday about why only 4,000 of the 18,000 tickets to last Saturday's championship bout at Madison Square Garden had been sold. He neglected to mention his age (34), string of phony retirements and the obscurity of his opponent, who wears an earring.

clause" in his contract to

If an over-the-hill fighter can make hay out of the war, imagine what the archetypal villains of '80s

excess could have done had hostilities broken out a few years earlier. Leona Helmsley and Michael Milken might have escaped being sentenced to hard time in the Big House. Where was the Persian Gulf when the Keating Five needed it, when Laura Palmer was killed, when the Boston Red Sox lots the American League play-offs in four straight games?

Only the oil companies are at pains to avoid linkage. Since Saddam invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2, the industry has had a huge surge in earnings. Chevron, which made 2½ times as much in last year's fourth quarter as in 1989's, attributed the uptick to an "aberration."

uplace to an "inferitual," is nor't have the war to hide behind much longer, In the meantine, certain rules of engagement in the blame game are being codified. As long as there are men and women serving in the gulf, no one in government, the military, csNs or the take-out pizza business has to apologize for being late, leaving early or cancelling out allogether on any nonrovice-taked event, and that includes coekuin-party fund mails well. As south as the hast three lines of this story.

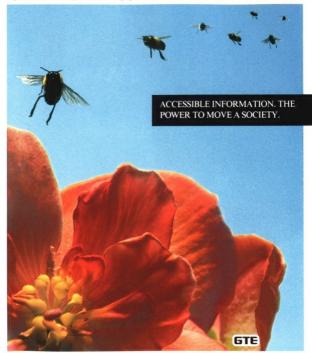


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